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A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

Editor: James W. Ivy

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IN THIS ISSUE

October, 1960

COVER

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—Photo by Cecil Layne

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■ Attorney Williams discusses the unfairness of capital punishment as applied to racial minorities

The Death Penalty and the Negro

By Franklin H. Williams

ON March 2, 1960, California's Governor Edmund "Pat" Brown sent an urgent message to a special session of that state's legislature in which he said:

As an act of public conscience and from the experience of over a decade and a half in law enforcement work, I ask the Legislature to abolish the death penalty in California. There are powerful and compelling reasons why this should be done. It is not based on maudlin sympathy for the criminal and depraved. And although I believe the death penalty constitutes an affront to human dignity and brutalizes and degrades society, I do not merely for these reasons urge this course for our State.

A few days previously he had granted a sixty day reprieve to Caryl Chessman, a notorious San Quentin inmate, allegedly under world-wide pressure and in order that the Legislature might have an opportunity to consider repealing the death penalty.[1] What happened to the repeal proposal and then to Chessman are history, but another observation made in the same message should continue to disturb us.

In commenting upon the application of the death penalty, the Governor said that in California as elsewhere it "is primarily inflicted upon the weak, the poor, the ignorant, and against racial minorities," and, he continued:

As shocking as may be the statistics in our deep South where the most extensive use of the death penalty is made against the most defenseless and downtrodden of the population, the Negroes, let it be remembered that in California, in the 15 year period ending in 1953, covering 110 executions, 30% were of Mexicans and Negroes, more than double the combined population percentages of these two groups at the time . . . I believe you will find them compelling evidence of the gross unfairness and social injustice which has characterized the application of the death penalty.

If it is true that capital punish-

FRANKLIN H. WILLIAMS, assistant attorney general, State of California, was formerly regional secretary-counsel of the NAACP.

ment in this country is applied unjustly and unfairly to racial minorities, then organizations and individuals concerned with equal justice for all persons should campaign actively for its abolition.

During the past 30-year period a total of 3,666 persons were executed by civil authority in this country. More than one-half, or 1,972, of them were Negro.

EXECUTIONS IN SOUTH

Even more revealing are the statistics of executions in the South. During the same period, 1930 through 1959, in 17 southern states, 53.8 per cent of all persons executed were Negroes, while of the 414 prisoners put to death for alleged rape 375, or 89.6 per cent were Negroes![2]

In that same time no white man was executed for this crime by the District of Columbia, Virginia, West Virginia, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana or Oklahoma.

In commenting upon similar statistics, William O. Reichert, an assistant professor of political science at the University of Kentucky stated:

While this might seem to imply that Negroes are basically more violent in temperament or nature than are whites, the facts do not bear out this conclusion. Obviously the law has been brought to bear more heavily on Negroes than whites.[3]

Overall statistics support this conclusion. Reference to the following table published by the Federal Bureau of Prisons, clearly shows the disparity in the application of this irretrievable penalty to Negroes as compared to white persons.

It is no coincidence that throughout the South many white persons

TABLE 2.–PRISONERS EXECUTED UNDER CIVIL AUTHORITY IN THE UNITED STATES, BY AGE, RACE, OFFENSE, AND STATE: 1959

(The figures in parentheses show the included executions for rape. All others were for murder)

State and race	Median age	All ages	18 and 19 years (a)	20 to 24 years	25 to 29 years	30 to 34 years	35 to 44 years	
Total	33.8	(8) 49	(1) 3	(3) 13	(2) 4	(1) 6	(1) 16	
White	33.8	(1) 16	-	3	2	(1) 4	6	
Negro	33.8	(7) 33	(1) 3	(3) 10	(2) 2	2	(1) 10	
Alabama: White		1	-	1	-	-	-	
Negro		(1) 1	-	(1) 1	-	-	-	
Arizona: Negro		1	-	-	-	-	1	
Arkansas: Negro		6	1	1	-	-	2	
California: White		5	-	-	2	2	1	
Negro		2	-	-	-	1	-	
Connecticut: White		2	-	-	-	-	2	
Florida: White		2	-	-	-	-	1	
Negro		(5) 8	(1) 1	(2) 2	(1) 1	1	(1) 2	
Georgia: Negro		6	-	1	-	-	2	
Maryland: Negro		2	1	1	-	-	-	
Nebraska: White		1	-	1	-	-	-	
New York: White		1	-	-	-	1	-	
Negro		5	-	2	-	-	1	
Ohio: White		1	-	-	-	-	1	
Pennsylvania: Negro		3	-	2	-	-	1	
Tennessee: White		(1) 1	-	-	-	(1) 1	-	
Texas: Negro		(1) 3	-	-	(1) 1	-	2	
Virginia: White		1	-	1	-	-	-	
Negro		1	-	-	-	-	-	
West Virginia: White		1	-	-	-	-	1	

(a) Eighteen year-olds executed in Florida and Maryland.

PRISONERS EXECUTED UNDER CIVIL AUTHORITY IN THE UNITED STATES, BY RACE AND OFFENSE: 1930 TO 1959

(The figures in parentheses show the number of females included. Excludes Alaska and Hawaii except for two Federal executions in Alaska, one in 1948 and one in 1950)

Year	All offenses				Murder				Rape				Other offenses[a]		
	Total	White	Negro	Other	Total	White	Negro	Other	Total	White	Negro	Other	Total	White	Negro
All years	3,666	1,653	1,972	41	(29) 3,179	(18) 1,578	(11) 1,562	39	426	42	382	2	(2) 61	(2) 33	28
Percent	*100.0*	-	-	-	*86.7*	-	-	-	*11.6*	-	-	-	*1.7*	-	-
Percent	*100.0*	*45.1*	*53.8*	*1.1*	*100.0*	*49.7*	*49.1*	*1.2*	*100.0*	*9.9*	*89.6*	*0.5*	*100.0*	*54.1*	*45.9*
1959	49	16	33	-	41	15	26	-	8	1	7	-	-	-	-
1958	48	20	27	1	40	20	19	1	7	-	7	-	1	-	1
1957	65	34	31	-	(1) 54	(1) 32	22	-	10	2	8	-	1	-	1
1956	65	21	43	1	52	20	31	1	12	-	12	-	1	1	-
1955	76	44	32	-	(1) 65	(1) 41	24	-	7	1	6	-	4	2	2
1954	81	38	42	1	(2) 71	(1) 37	(1) 33	1	9	1	8	-	1	-	1
1953	62	30	31	1	(1) 51	(1) 25	25	1	7	1	6	-	(2) 4	(2) 4	-
1952	83	36	47	-	71	35	36	-	12	1	11	-	-	-	-
1951	105	57	47	1	(1) 87	(1) 55	31	1	17	2	15	-	1	-	1
1950	82	40	42	-	68	36	32	-	13	4	9	-	1	-	1
1949	119	50	67	2	107	49	56	2	10	-	10	-	2	1	1
1948	119	35	82	2	95	32	61	2	22	1	21	-	2	2	-
1947	153	42	111	-	(2) 129	(1) 40	(1) 89	-	23	2	21	-	1	-	1
1946	131	46	84	1	(1) 107	45	(1) 61	1	22	-	22	-	2	1	1
1945	117	41	75	1	(1) 90	37	(1) 52	1	26	4	22	-	1	-	1
1944	120	47	70	3	(3) 96	45	(3) 48	3	24	2	22	-	-	-	-
1943	131	54	74	3	(3) 118	(1) 54	(2) 63	1	13	-	11	2	-	-	-
1942	147	67	80	-	(1) 116	(1) 57	59	-	24	4	20	-	7	6	1
1941	123	59	63	1	(1) 102	(1) 55	46	1	20	4	16	-	1	-	1
1940	124	49	75	-	105	44	61	-	15	2	13	-	4	3	1
1939	159	80	77	2	144	79	63	2	12	-	12	-	3	1	2
1938	190	96	92	2	(2) 155	(2) 90	63	2	25	1	24	-	10	5	5
1937	147	69	74	4	(1) 133	67	(1) 62	4	13	2	11	-	1	-	1
1936	195	92	101	2	(1) 181	(1) 86	93	2	10	2	8	-	4	4	-
1935	199	119	77	3	(4) 184	(3) 115	(1) 66	3	11	2	11	-	2	2	-
1934	168	65	102	1	(1) 154	(1) 64	89	1	14	1	13	-	-	-	-
1933	160	77	81	2	151	75	74	2	7	1	6	-	2	1	1
1932	140	62	75	3	128	62	63	3	10	-	10	-	2	-	2
1931	153	77	72	4	(1) 137	(1) 76	57	4	15	1	14	-	1	-	1
1930	155	90	65	-	(1) 147	(1) 90	57	-	6	-	6	-	2	-	2

(a) 22 armed robbery, 16 kidnaping, 11 burglary, 8 espionage (6 in 1942 and 2 in 1953), 4 aggravated assault.

see humor in an anecdote which to most Negroes is too true and tragic for laughter. You can often hear it said that if a Negro kills a white man, it is murder. If a white man kills a Negro, it is unfortunate. But, if a white man kills a white man it is probably in self-defense, unless the fight was over a woman, in which case death was caused by apoplexy.

The shockingly disproportionate number of Negro executions for rape and murder is convincing proof that the death penalty is being used in some areas as a discriminatory weapon.

While most Americans hope that innocent men are not being executed in this country, experience with some southern courts and communities would indicate otherwise. Such cases as those involving the Scottsboro boys,[4] the so-called Martinsville Seven,[5] and others, are sufficiently shocking and notorious to convince one that innocent men are found guilty — and especially so where bigotry and racial hatred are an integral part of the community structure. In one widely publicized case the lynch spirit so permeated the atmosphere that upon review Justice Jackson of the United States Supreme Court described it as one of the best examples of one of the

worst menaces to American justice he had ever seen.[6]

In his monumental work on the Negro in America,[7] Gunnar Myrdal describes this atmosphere:

> Public tension and community pressure increase with the seriousness of the alleged crime. A Southern student of law writes:
>
> 'One has only to visit a Southern community at a time when some Negro is on trial for the rape or murder of a white person to obtain a vivid picture of the hate and passion and desire for vengeance which is often aroused in the hearts of the Southern whites. . . . Under circumstances of this kind it is rather difficult for the jury or even the judge to escape being influenced by the feeling which permeates the throng.'
>
> There is thus even less possibility for a fair trial when the Negro's crime is serious. In the case of a threatened lynching, the court makes no pretense at justice; the Negro must be condemned, and usually condemned to death, before the crowd gets him.

PUNISHMENT OF INNOCENT

We may never know how many innocent men the state has put to death. Justice Jerome Frank of the U.S. Circuit Court, in a book entitled *Not Guilty*, documents 36 cases in which men were convicted of crimes they did not commit. He points out that "no one knows how many innocent men, erroneously convicted . . . have been put to death by American governments. For once a convicted man is dead, all interest in vindicating him usually evaporates." [8]

In 1852, the State of Rhode Island put a man to death for a murder he did not commit, and when his innocence was discovered it abolished the death penalty. . . . Laudable but late!

While it must be conceded that there are many well-reasoned arguments in favor of maintaining capital punishment, the overwhelming evidence, as well as logic, morality, good judgement and a desire for equal racial justice should compel Negroes and other ethnic minority groups and their organizations to join the ranks of those seeking the elimination of the state's right to kill.

Many arguments have been advanced both for and against this right. A bibliography of source material would be prohibitive in length. One recently published by the Friends Committee on Legislation lists over 125 books, articles, and reports, most in opposition to the penalty.[9]

Opponents have established a national organization to work for its abolition throughout the country.[10] While in California, and several other states, local committees have been organized to campaign for repeal.[11]

Despite some fluctuations, the practice of capital punishment has been declining for more than a century. In 1780, there were about 350 offenses punishable by death in Britain. Today, that country rarely executes anyone and then usually for murder. Nor is this an unusual situation. Death as punishment for civil crimes has been abolished in thirty-five countries, and several that still have the law never invoke it, as reflected in the following chart, "Nations Drop Death Penalty," prepared by the Friends Committee on Legislation:

EUROPE	Year Abolished
Austria	1930
Denmark	1930
Finland	1949
Holland	1870
Italy[1]	1889
Lithuania*	
Luxembourg	1945
Norway	1905
Portugal	1867
Rumania*	1865
Spain[2]	1932
Sweden	1921
Switzerland	1879
Turkey	1950
U.S.S.R.*	1947
West Germany	1949

AUSTRALIA	Year Abolished
Queensland	1922

CENTRAL-SOUTH AMERICA	Year Abolished
Argentina	1922
Brazil	1891
Columbia	1910
Costa Rica	1888
Dominican Republic	1924
Ecuador	1897
Guatemala[3]	1955
Honduras	1894
Mexico[4]	1928
Uruguay	1907
Venezuela	1863
Nicaragua	1950
Panama	1903
Peru*	1900
Puerto Rico	1929
Virgin Islands	1957

ASIA (INDIA)	Year Abolished
Nepal	1931

ELSEWHERE	Year Abolished
Greenland	1930
Iceland	1944
Israel	1948

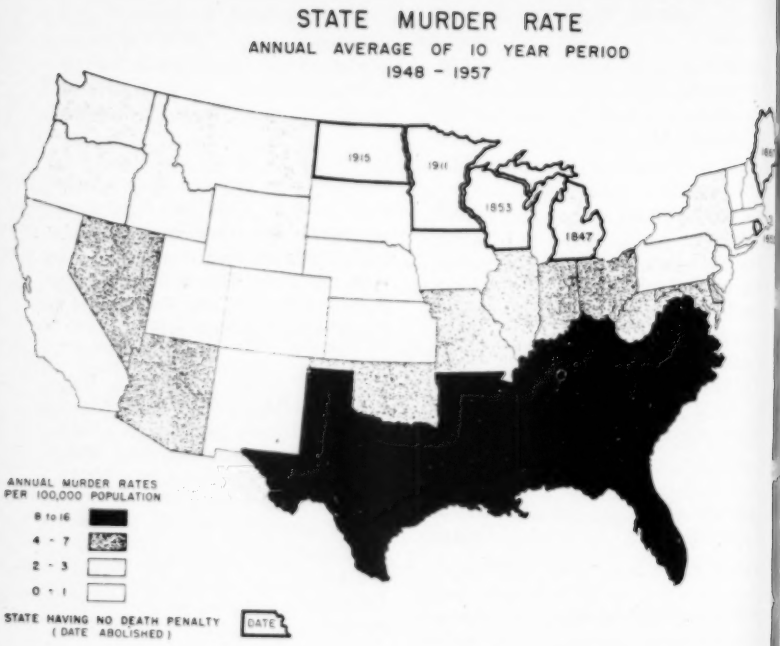
In the United States nine states have abolished the penalty and, interestingly enough, none has experienced an appreciable increase in its homicide rate. This data is also based on "Nations Drop Death Penalty" prepared by the Friends Committee on Legislation, and they are:

UNITED STATES	Year Abolished
Maine	1887
Michigan	1847
Minnesota	1911
North Dakota	1895
Rhode Island	1852
Wisconsin	1853
Alaska	1957
Delaware	1958
Hawaii	1957

CAPITAL OFFENSES

A map prepared for Governor Brown indicated the states annual average murder rate over a ten-year period and, according to the Governor, "shows graphically that the states without capital punishment along with several others which do retain the death penalty have the least incidence of homicides. And in striking contrast, 12 southern states have the highest homicide rate of all."

* Retained for political crimes
1. Restored by Mussolini: re-abolished in 1948
2. Under Martial Law
3. Abolished for women and children
4. Abolished in Federal Law in all but ten states



As many as eighteen offenses were punishable by death in the early American colonies. Today, there are only ten capital offenses in the states and no state has all of them on its books. They include murder (generally first degree), kidnapping, rape, treason, robbery, lynching, certain uses of explosives, burglary, arson and train wrecking![12] In the main, executions in the United States have been for murder or rape, in that order, as listed in the following table prepared by the Federal Bureau of Prisons:

Few public concerns have received more detailed study and examination than the death sentence. A British Royal Commission on Capital Punishment heard a multitude of witnesses and sifted hundreds of documents in an effort to evaluate its effect on crime. After a four-year study, the Commission concluded in 1953 that "there is no clear evidence in any of the figures . . . examined that the abolition of capital punishment had led to an increase in the homicide rate or that its reintroduction has led to a fall." [13]

In 1957, a Special Commission was authorized by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts to investigate and study proposals to abolish the death penalty. On December 31, 1958, after a 16-month study of

–PRISONERS EXECUTED UNDER CIVIL AUTHORITY IN THE UNITED STATES, BY OFFENSE, RACE, AND STATE: 1930 TO 1959

(The figures in parentheses show the number of females included.
Excludes Alaska and Hawaii except for two Federal executions in Alaska, one in 1948 and one in 1950.)

Region and State	All offenses				Murder			Rape			Armed robbery		Kidnaping	Other offenses	
	Total	White	Negro	Other	White	Negro	Other	White	Negro	Other	White	Negro	White	White	Negro
United States	3,666	1,653	1,972	41	(18) 1,578	(11) 1,562	39	42	382	2	5	17	(1) 16	(1) 12	11
FEDERAL	31	27	3	1	11	3	a1	2	-	-	1	-	(1) 5	(1) b8	-
NORTHEAST	591	417	167	7	415	167	7	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-
New England:															
Maine c	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX
New Hampshire	1	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Vermont	4	4	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Massachusetts	27	25	2	-	25	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Rhode Island c	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX
Connecticut	20	17	3	-	17	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Middle Atlantic:															
New York	319	232	82	5	(4) 230	(1) 82	d5	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-
New Jersey	71	45	24	2	45	24	e2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pennsylvania	149	93	56	-	(1) 93	(1) 56	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
NORTH CENTRAL	382	242	138	2	241	131	2	1	7	-	-	-	-	-	-
East North Central:															
Ohio	165	101	63	1	(2) 101	(1) 63	f1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Indiana	40	30	10	-	30	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Illinois	88	58	30	-	(1) 58	30	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Michigan c	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX
Wisconsin c	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX
West North Central:															
Minnesota c	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX
Iowa	16	16	-	-	16	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Missouri	58	26	32	-	25	25	-	1	7	-	-	-	-	-	-
North Dakota c	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX
South Dakota g	1	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Nebraska	4	3	3	1	3	-	a1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kansas h	10	7	3	-	7	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
SOUTH	2,201	601	1,590	10	554	1,187	8	39	375	2	4	17	4	-	11
South Atlantic:															
Delaware i	12	5	7	-	(1) 4	4	-	1	3	-	-	-	-	-	-
Maryland	67	13	54	-	7	36	-	6	18	-	-	-	-	-	-
District of Columbia	40	5	35	-	5	35	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
Virginia	86	15	71	-	15	51	-	(2)	20	-	-	-	-	-	-
West Virginia	40	31	9	-	28	8	-	1	1	-	-	-	3	-	-
North Carolina	262	50	198	5	55	(2) 148	a5	4	41	a2	-	-	-	-	19
South Carolina	154	32	122	-	(1) 28	(1) 87	-	4	35	-	-	-	-	-	-
Georgia	352	64	288	-	61	(1) 227	-	3	56	-	-	5	-	-	-
Florida	158	51	107	-	50	73	-	(2)	34	-	-	-	1	-	-
East South Central:															
Kentucky	102	50	52	-	(1) 46	41	-	1	9	-	3	2	-	-	-
Tennessee	92	27	65	-	22	44	-	3	21	-	-	-	-	-	-
Alabama	130	26	104	-	(2) 24	77	-	2	20	-	-	5	-	-	12
Mississippi	144	29	115	-	29	(3) 95	-	(2)	17	-	-	3	-	-	-
West South Central:															
Arkansas	109	24	84	1	23	67	a1	1	17	-	-	-	-	-	-
Louisiana	131	30	101	-	(1) 30	(1) 84	-	(2)	17	-	-	-	-	-	-
Oklahoma	54	36	15	3	35	11	a3	-	4	-	1	-	-	-	-
Texas	268	106	161	1	94	99	a1	12	60	-	-	2	-	-	-
WEST	461	366	74	21	357	74	21	-	-	-	-	-	5	4	-
Mountain:															
Montana	6	4	2	-	4	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Idaho	3	3	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Wyoming	6	5	1	-	5	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Colorado	42	35	5	1	35	5	k1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
New Mexico	7	5	2	-	5	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Arizona	34	25	9	-	(1) 25	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Utah	12	12	-	-	12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Nevada	27	25	2	-	25	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pacific:															
Washington	45	38	5	2	37	5	l2	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Oregon	18	15	3	-	15	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
California	262	199	45	18	(3) 191	45	m18	-	-	-	-	-	4	n4	-

a American Indian (a).
b Espionage.
c Death penalty illegal during entire period, except as explained in table 5, footnote (b).
d 3 Chinese, 1 Filipino, 1 American Indian.
e 1 American Indian, 1 Filipino.
f Chinese.
g Death penalty illegal 1930 to 1938.
h Death penalty illegal 1930 to 1934.
i Death penalty illegal beginning April 2, 1958.
j Burglary.
k Japanese.
l 1 American Indian, 1 Chinese.
m 11 Filipinos, 3 Chinese, 1 Japanese, 3 American Indians.
n Aggravated assault committed by prisoners under life sentence.

every aspect of the question, Commission chairman, Charles W. Capraro, submitted the conclusions of a majority of the Commission as follows:

1. Capital punishment is not a better protection against murder than a sentence of life imprisonment. . . . Its deterrent effect is slight and is offset by its encouragement to unstable individuals to commit murder.

2. It does not contribute to the reduction of murder; it is simply an easy and harmful way of satisfying the need to 'do something about it.'

3. It is the swiftness and certainty of punishment and not its severity that deters. There is reason to believe that trials would be shorter and conviction more swift and certain, if life imprisonment rather than death were the maximum penalty.

4. There is reason also to believe that trials would be less sensational, would appeal less to the morbid, and have less harmful effect on the unstable if the sentence of death were not an issue.

5. It is not true that life imprisonment means that dangerous offenders will be free again in a short time. Even if it were, the remedy would be to insist upon a professional correctional parole and pardon administration rather than to retain capital punishment as a substitute for our failure to establish a proper system of control.[14]

DOGMAS VS. NON-DOGMAS

In spite of numerous such reports from responsible and broadly representative commissions, public opinion polls in many states and countries seem to indicate that the general public holds a persistent fear that discarding the death penalty will lead to a phenomenal increase of disorder and violence. Most of these people seem to have allowed emotion to sway their reason when one considers the viewpoint of those sociologists who maintain that "not a single assumption underlying the theory of capital punishment can be squared with the facts of human nature" as modern scientific thought conceives these facts to be.[15]

The wide range of arguments both for and against the death penalty may be divided roughly into dogmas, founded on moralistic or philosophic beliefs; and non-dogmas, which are reasonably capable of some type of scientific verification. In the category of dogmas, accepted or rejected on the basis of faith alone, are such statements as "the state does not have the right to take human life." Other religious arguments and Biblical quotations in abundance may be found to support both sides of the argument. Among the non-dogmas used in support of the penalty are retribution, economic advantages derived from execution as contrasted with imprisonment, deterrence of crime, as well as the beneficial eugenic influence that allegedly flows from the destruction of criminals who commit capital offenses.[16]

Few responsible people seriously urge the retention of the death penalty solely on the theory that the criminal should be made to suffer for his criminal acts. While such a desire to "get even" may be a natural human tendency, it is morally repulsive to most Americans. If one seriously supports vengeance as justification for the application of punishment then we might ask, Why stop at execution? If we want to inflict pain and suffering, slow death by torture would be more appropri-

ate. In contrast, the trend in this country has been away from slow death and in the direction of swift and painless executions.[37]

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT NO DETERRENT

Another argument advanced by some supporters of the death penalty is that if the state does not take the criminal's life an outraged community or the victim's family or friends may do so by lynching. Experience in the souther nstates establishes the fact that the certainty of the death penalty for a Negro criminal is no deterrent to lynching. According to Thorsten Sellin in his *Report For The Model Penal Code Project Of The American Law Institute*, 1959 ". . . the startes leading in the total number of persons lynched also were among the leaders in the use of capital executions, as can be seen from th following comparisons:

	Number of persons lynched 1882-1951	Number of executions 1930-1957
Mississippi	574	141
Georgia	530	342
Texas	493	259
Louisiana	391	129
Alabama	347	127

Apparently when a southern community desires to destroy human life it uses every method available to it; and with little compunction where the accused is "weak, poor, ignorant" or a member of a racial minority.

Capital punishment, if justifiable, cannot find support in those motives which spur lynch mobs.

It would be most unfortunate if this issue were to be resolved on the basis of dollars and cents. Yet, some advocates of the penalty have advanced "economy" as a serious argument for its retention.

Recently, Attorney-General Stanley Mosk of California challenged this argument when he said:

> Last year in California, it cost $1,572 per man year to be sustained in the state penal institutions. Multiply that figure by the life expectancy of any individual convicted for murder in California today and the amount will likely be less than the total sum the state expends in trying, convicting and resisting appeals for the same individual. . . . Without the possibility of death, I venture the guess that (most defendants) would have pleaded guilty and avoided the financial burden.

The economy argument may be challenged on another ground. If the principle applies in the case of those condemned to die, why should it not be applied to all non-self-supporting prisoners or inmates of state and federal institutions,—the incurably ill or insane, for example? When applied with such logic the argument loses whatever force it originally possessed.

The "eugenic influence" argument also withers upon careful examination when one considers that its stated goal could as easily be achieved through sterilization of criminals as by death. Further, the possible presence of recessive defective genes in apparently normal persons would make the impact of its application ineffective to accomplish its goal.

The most frequently advanced and widely accepted argument in favor of capital punishment is that the threat of its infliction deters people from committing capital crimes. This

utilitarian argument does not hold up when one compares statistics for homicide in states that provide the death penalty for murder and those that do not.[18]

Year	Abolition States	Death Penalty States
1928	4.2	8.8
1933	3.7	10.5
1938	2.2	7.6
1943	2.1	5.5
1949	2.2	6.0

It has been pointed out many times that Georgia in spite of having the death penalty has the highest homicide rate in America; whereas Rhode Island, without such a penalty, has an extremely low rate. When one compares Rhode Island with the adjacent and culturally similar state of Connecticut, a greater percentage of homicide is found in the latter, which has the penalty, than in the former which does not. Similarly, a comparison of Michigan with Indiana and Illinois, shows comparability in the homicide rates even though Michigan has abolished the penalty. Wisconsin, without the death penalty, has by far the lowest rate of homicide of any midwestern state.

In his best seller, *Star Wormwood*, Judge Curtis Bok of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court commented upon the deterrent argument when he said:

> With people being executed at the rate of less than two in each state each year, no one is deterred from murder by the thought that it might happen to him. . . . The death penalty has lost what little virtue as a deterrent it once may have had when criminals were massacred in impressive numbers: . . . England, in the days of Lord Coke, hanged 800 persons per year, but killing so many could not have had much effect either, or the annual number would have been less. The argument for taking life seems to fail both ways.

Except in the case of Negroes in the South, juries are reluctant to impose the extreme penalty upon criminals. An examination of national criminal statistics and their comparison with execution statistics indicates that only a small number of criminals are put to death.

NEW YORK CONVICTIONS

In New York, during the period 1910-1926, there were 334 convictions of first degree murder, 567 convictions of second degree murder, but only 210 executions. In Massachusetts, from 1921 to 1954, 257 criminals were given life sentences while only 45 were executed. A total of 77 per cent of the New York murderers and 85 per cent of the Massachusetts ones were put in prison instead of being executed. Out of an estimated 23,370 cases of murder, non-negligent manslaughter and rape in 1949, there were only 119 executions carried out in the entire country with 93 of these in the South. Whatever the effect capital punishment could have therefore is lost.[19]

Such references and statistics would seem to deny the deterrent or eugenic value of the death penalty and "the fact that some men continue to argue in favor of it" may only demonstrate man's ability to confuse tradition with proof, and his related ability to justify his established ways of behaving."[20]

Recent events have again brought the issue into the arena of public debate and agitation, as with the Sacco-Vanzetti case, the case in California of Caryl Chessman—of whom millions were aware through his best-seller *Cell 2455.*[21] Hence there has resulted a new national campaign for the abolition of death as a form of punishment. When the arguments for and against the penalty are weighed and when the manner of its application are considered, it would seem imperative that Negroes and other ethnic minorities in the United States lend their prestige and the weight of their protests and votes in any campaign for its abolition.

The wide disparity in executions of white and Negro prisoners is substantially the result of a double standard of justice, but this alone cannot explain the disproportion in overall crime statistics. Human beings, with the exception of congenital mental defectives, are not born evil nor do they naturally choose a life of crime. The causes of anti-social behavior must be sought in the structure of society itself. Clearly poverty, ignorance of the law, anti-white "revenge" feelings, the racial caste system, slums and other undesirable community patterns and practices all operate to prevent the Negro from identifying himself with society and the law.[22]

Society, because of its tolerance of inadequate social and economic arrangements for minorities, is to a great extent responsible when a member of such a group develops vicious criminal habits. Though reformation of the social causes of criminality is painfully slow, the death penalty should not be tolerated as an "easy way out" in correcting evils of the community's own creation.

Though capital punishment may eventually be abolished, one problem will remain to nag at the conscience of the thinking man. He may well look at the results and ask himself, "What have we accomplished merely by substituting one form of vengeance for another?" When we develop a workable system of rehabilitation, and when we can change the kind of thinking that denies minorities an equal place in this competitive society—then, and only then, can we stand up and demand recognition as a truly civilized and enlightened nation.

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NOTICE

The new CRISIS address is 16 West 40th Street, New York 18, N. Y.

MAGGIE McLAUGHLIN *presents a $500 life membership check for the South Carolina League, Inc., to Dr. George D. Cannon in the presence of Dr. J. Andrews Simmons, trustee of the League.*

■ How Modern Community Developers sought integrated housing in Deerfield

From Segregation to Community

By *Ellis Lathers*

EARLY in the past spring, the *Citizens Council,* white segregationist tabloid emanating from Mississippi, hailed a decision by Judge Joseph Sam Perry of the U. S. District Court in Chicago, in which a national building corporation and its Illinois subsidiary were declared to be guilty of "illegal racial discrimination." The explanation for the Citizens Council's sudden equalitarian enthusiasm is to be found in the identity of the building firms.

They are Modern Community Developers, Inc. of Princeton, New Jersey, and its Illinois subsidiary, Progress Development Corporation, both dedicated to integrated housing exclusively. MCD set up Progress Development Corporation, nearly two years ago, in response to the urgings of a Chicago-area group concerned about equal housing opportunity. In the summer of 1960, Progress began construction of a 51-home development of $30,000 homes in the North Shore surburb of Deerfield. In the fall of that year, the company's intention to sell ten to twelve of its fifty-one units to Negroes was made public, and shortly afterward Deerfield became a hotbed of resistance to residential equality.

On December 22, 1959, MCD and Progress filed a civil-rights suit in the U. S. District Court, which led to the previously mentioned decision. Some time this fall, their appeal will come before the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals for the Seventh District. In the brief they filed with the Court last June, the builders argue that the central issue in the Deerfield integrated housing controversy—the alleged deprivation of fundamental civil rights—never was heard on its merits.

A fuller understanding of the subject should result from considering the answers to some of the questions which crop up most insistently:

ELLIS LATHERS is the pseudonym of a man who has firsthand knowledge of the fight for racially integrated housing and who kept up with the Deerfield situation from the beginning.

Why was the village of Deerfield (with its bright new motto, "To Live With Will Unfettered") selected for this housing development?

Why wasn't the intention to sell some houses to Negroes publicized at the very outset?

Why was it publicized at all?

Why was suit filed in a federal court?

Is integrated housing discriminatory?

Where do MCD and Progress go from here?

WHY DEERFIELD WAS SELECTED

When this question was asked last November, at a Deerfield Rotary meeting, Dr. Arthur G. Falls, prominent Negro surgeon, human-rights leader and chairman of the Progress board, responded, "It came up to our standards."

Actually, the matter is one of selection of site, rather than of city, town or village. Before Progress even existed, the Chicago-area group had searched nearly two years for a suitable site. Basic considerations were the same as for any other builder: good schools, shopping and transportation; adequate community facilities; no blighted areas nearby which might jeopardize the existing standards of housing. For Progress and MCD it was especially important to avoid proximity to a Negro ghetto, blighted or otherwise, for the pressure of pent-up housing demand by Negroes would imperil their aim of housing integration, in the opinion of management.

Why wasn't the intention to sell some houses to Negroes publicized at the very outset?

Why was it publicized at all?

One of the favorite arguments of the opposition to integrated housing in Deerfield was the accusation of stealth. The builders, it was repeatedly stated, had an obligation to inform the community of the plan to permit Negroes to buy. It became the vogue in this all-white community ("Why, we hardly had any *Jews* until a few years ago, and now *this!*"), to express acceptance of integration, but to show righteous indignation at the so-called surreptitious tactics of the builders.

The facts are clear. Normally, when a builder says nothing about his sales plans, it is because there is a tacit assumption that he will discriminate. It is one of those elemental things one just does, if one is an ordinary white builder, one of those things everybody knows about, but nobody of taste talks about. The uproar thus stems from the fact that MCD and Progress not only acted as if they weren't thinking of discriminating, but they actually weren't thinking of discriminating.

Meeting the opposition on their newly found moralistic grounds, John W. Hunt, vice-president and counsel of Progress Development Corp., stated on several occasions that the obligation to bring sales plans to public attention is not with the builder who follows the spirit of the Constitution and U. S. law, the spirit of all major religions and of his conscience, but rather with the builder who seeks to conceal the fact that he plans to discriminate, and to base his sales program on the assurance that he will in fact violate legal and moral precepts.

Pragmatically speaking, the results of publicity are self-evident. During the six-month period when Progress Development Corp. was to all intents and purposes just another commercial builder, relationships with the Deerfield authorities were most agreeable, and the construction program proceeded smoothly.

Two days after Deerfield learned that Progress' Floral Park and Pear Tree tracts would be integrated, on November 13, 1959, to be exact, a violation was posted on one of the two model homes being built, ordering all construction to be stopped. Dated November 13, it required bracing corrections to be made by November 13. On that same day, the workers were ordered off the job by the village building inspector, so that the corrections could not be made. From that time until the builders went to court, construction was halted almost completely. (It took four days to get a decision as to whether 1″ x 6″ bracing, 50 per cent stronger than the 1″ x 4″ bracing required by the village code, could be used.)

Morris Milgram, president of Modern Community Developers, and George E. Otto, executive vice-president, head up the team which built the integrated developments of Concord Park and Greenbelt Knoll in the Philadelphia area, Maplecrest and Glen Acres in Princeton. The original intention on publicity in Deerfield was to follow the successful approach employed at Princeton.

This called for the completion of the model homes, with the announcement of plans for integrated housing to coincide with opening of the furnished models to the public. It was felt that the sight of these two impressive structures designed by architects Fred and William Keck, and turned out with $6,000 worth of furniture, would go far to allay any anxieties about the desirability of the houses or of the people who would buy them. It worked in Princeton, but they never got to try it in Deerfield.

What happened in Deerfield was that in preparation for the opening of the model homes, members of the Progress board of directors began making contacts locally, to establish liaison with right-minded persons in the Deerfield community. One of the persons contacted was Father Jack Parker of the local Episcopalian church. He felt obliged to tell his vestrymen and, to make a troublesome story short, MCD and Progress therefore accelerated their publicity timetable.

One of the most sonorous accepters of integration and deplorers of "stealth" was Harold C. Lewis, a businessman living outside of Deerfield proper, but in the area. He headed up the North Shore Residents Association, formed shortly after Progress' plans became known, and urged all of Chicago's North Shore suburbs to join cause with him. He turned southward as well with a fervent plea for aid to the Citizens Councils of Jackson, Mississippi:

> . . . I would imagine that determined resistance would be easier to maintain in the South than in the North, although the consequences of defeat would be far more devastating. At least you do not have to fight your political leaders and ministers and newspapers to the extent we must up here. Any

support you can give us will be most helpful. A little encouragement now and then can be strong medicine for an embattled village. . .

Mr. Lewis, who on occasion quotes Scripture in support of segregation, was himself widely quoted in the southern press.

Still, there were sincere, self-sacrificing, and highly effective individuals on the side of the building firms who felt that advance publicity on plans for integration was a moral obligation. However noble the intentions of these people, their approach is at best visionary, as subsequent events have shown, and as Morris Milgram predicted.

Once the plans for integration were abroad, the rumors began to multiply: the NAACP was behind it all and had fifty-one Negro families all set to move into Progress' $30,000 homes the minute they were finished . . . the whole scheme was to make a killing by forcing Deerfield to buy out Progress Development Corporation at an extortionate profit . . . several Negro families would be moved into each house. . . . One Deerfielder got special attention from the press by claiming that he had to sell his house, but since the announcement of the integrated development, "No broker would touch it." Investigation showed he had bought a house for $20,000, that it was appraised at $23,000, that he was asking $30,000, and, truly, no broker would touch it at that figure.

Once the rumor mills were grinding, it became necessary to furnish accurate information. This was done through the MCD staff, through the American Friends Service Committee, and through the Deerfield Citizens for Human Rights, 150 local residents who labored strenuously for democracy in housing in their town. The ministers living in Deerfield did yeoman work in this connection, as well.

WHY SUIT FILED IN FEDERAL COURT

Within a week after plans for integrated housing in Deerfield became known, petitions for condemnation of Progress' sites were being discussed in the press. (Chicago *Tribune*, November 18, 1959). By the end of November, the North Shore Residents Association and the Deerfield Citizens for Human Rights were in operation. On December 5 and 6, the NSRA conducted a "poll' which showed Deerfielders as opposed to the integrated tracts by 8-1. Few informed persons take this proportion seriously, though no one would dispute real opposition to Negroes living in Deerfield.

On December 7, the Park Board, in a closed meeting, voted to hold a referendum on a $550,000 bond issue, to be used in part for condemnation of PDC's two sites. On December 8, three member of NRSA, with no official connection to the Park Board, served notices on PDC principals to purchase PDC's ground for an aggregate price of $167,000. PDC rejected this as a bad faith offer, evidencing the bad faith generally of the Park District's plan. On December 10, the Park Board published legal notice of the bond referendum, slated for December 21, the minimum allowable time. On December 11, Deerfield residents and PDC officers were permitted to in-

spect Park Board minutes after two-and-a-half days of stalling. (The law requires them to be available to the public at all reasonable times.)

The park gambit was no novelty to MCD-PDC. PDC board chairman Arthur Falls is the man who taught the Chicago of Western Springs a costly lesson when it attempted to bar him via park-condemnation techniques a few short years ago.

(At that time, Judge Berkowitz, sitting in the Circuit Court of Cook County, had this to say of the Western Springs Park Board maneuver:

It appears from the evidence in this case that they were not attempting to get the land for park purposes. . . They wished to remove Dr. and Mrs. Falls for their color and for no other reason. If this land were condemned . . . it would be a monument in that particular area to hate and intolerance.)

While the rumors were circulating, the telephones ringing, the meetings taking place, other things were happening as well. Max Weinrib, executive-vice-president of PDC, and the builder on the job, suffered economic reprisals. His telephone rang at all hours of the night, to convey threats. John Hunt's family was threatened. Charles Rippey's telephone also delivered threats to his wife and children. Just before the bond referendum, nineteen studs in the model homes were knocked loose. A charred cross was found in front of the home of Deerfielder Bernard Scotch, who had said of the Park Board's plan, "It would be the only park in Illinois in which a statue of Lincoln could not be erected."

Considering also that Deerfield had voted down a park bond issue just a few months before, that they had voted down several such issues in recent years, it was clear that this was a civil-rights matter. Accordingly, on the day after the bond issue was voted in (by two-to-one rather than the eight-to-one ratio of the poll, incidentally, MCD and Progress filed suit in the U. S. District Court, charging violation of the Fourteenth Amendment and the U. S. Civil Rights Act.

The suit asked an injunction against condemnation of their land by the Deerfield Park District, an injunction against unlawful interference with or harassment of Progress' construction program by the Village Board, and damages in the amount of $750,000. The defendants, thirty-one of them, were charged with planning to prevent the Progress Development Corporation from exercizing its lawful rights to build homes in Deerfield and to sell them to whites and Negroes.

Judge Joseph Sam Perry granted a temporary injunction against the Village Board to facilitate PDC's building program. Construction was resumed, and the hearings began shortly afterwards. The Park Board put off condemnation action pending the outcome of the preliminary hearings.

On March 4, Judge Perry denied the injunctions sought by MCD and PDC and dismissed the claim for damages. In baseball parlance, the Judge "swung for the fences." He attacked the PDC plan of selling a portion but not all of its houses to Negroes as discriminatory. He struck out at MCD and its registration with the Securities and Exchange Commission. He claimed no civil right is involved in the case, and that the

plaintiffs have an adequate remedy at law.

INTEGRATED HOUSING

Experience has shown that up till now, it has been easier to sell whites on living in an integrated community when they are assured they will be in the majority. The shortage of decent housing for Negroes creates such purchasing pressure that a substantial majority of white occupants is generally deemd essential as a safeguard of true integration in the event several units change hands from white to Negro. It is obvious, therefore, that however repugnant any form of manipulative racial occupancy ratios may be, especially to those with an active concern for equal housing opportunity, if neighborhood democracy is the goal, certain prerequisites must be set—for the time being.

To compare occupancy planning designed to *include* with restrictive schemes used to *exclude* is to fall victim to an immature appreciation of housing market realities.

The MCD-PDC brief filed with the Court of Appeals makes this statement:

> As noted, plaintiff Progress has decided to offer for sale to Negroes some ten or 12 of the 51 homes intended to be built in Deerfield. Progress will not sell all of its homes to Negroes; nor will it sell all of its homes to white persons. If market demand were not to materialize as expected, Progress would of course have to revise its intentions, the intentions themselves being based on expected demand for its houses.
>
> Progress is a private builder, not a publicly assisted or publicly aided builder. As in the case of any such private builder, it would clearly be lawful for Progress to decide as a business matter to sell *all* of its houses to Negroes, or *all* of its houses to white persons. How, then, can it be unlawful for Progress to decide to sell *some* to Negroes and *some* to white persons?
>
> "At one point in its Memorandum Opinion the District Court recognizes the 'absolute right' of Progress to follow such a course by saying:
>
> 'As a matter of fact and law, Progress has the absolute right to select its own purchasers. It can select Whites only, or Negroes only, or Whites and Negroes in any ratio it chooses . . . . In short, *the law protects Progress in its right to sell to* those persons it may choose . . . .' (our italics)

Later on, the District Court contradicts itself, branding as illegal Progress' intention as to initial sales. The appellants of course hew to the earlier line, not the one that was acclaimed by the *Citizens Council.*

FUTURE OF MCD AND PROGRESS

Following the District Court decision in March, the Park District moved ahead on condemnation in the Illinois Circuit Court in Lake County. The Deerfield sites were condemned. Prior to a valuation hearing set for June 28, both sides agreed on the valuation as $168,500. There will be no further action pending the outcome of the appeal in the U. S. Court of Appeals. If the appeal is sustained, condemnation is null and void. If the appeal is lost, MCD-PDC have several alternatives:

To go to the U. S. Supreme Court;
To appeal the condemnation; and
To accept the $168,500 for their property in Deerfield.

Despite the severe strain on its

resources, in both money and manpower, imposed by the Deerfield case, Modern Community Developers has continued to move forward on several fronts.

Below the Mason-Dixon line, near Wilmington, Delaware, a model home has been opened at a 28-home development in the $23,000-$29,000 price range, and several additional homes are under construction. Here MCD is under contract to supervise construction and sales for a local firm dedicated to integrated housing—the Runnymede Corporation. MCD is the largest single stockholder in Runnymede.

In the Princeton, N. J., area MCD is moving to control several building sites for integrated housing. In New York City the Company is lending money and guidance to several cooperative apartment-house projects and is slated to play an active role in the construction of another. In Waterbury, Conn., the model home at a 100-unit development of $16,000-$20,000 houses will be started soon. This job is in the hands of MCD's subsidiary, Meadow Homes, Inc.

While MCD and PDC have built only the two model homes at Deerfield thus far, they may well have laid the foundation for better human relations and better housing opportunities throughout Chicagoland.

Augustus Smith of Cleveland, Ohio, recently became a fully-paid life member of the NAACP.

GUEST ARTIST—*Diahann Carroll (R) was guest artist at the Four-Season Fashion Show of the NAACP extravaganza in San Francisco, California. At left is Terry Francois, president of the San Francisco branch.*

■ A sketch of the West Indians who search for better conditions in England

West Indians In London

By Gabriel Gersh

THE London boat-train from Southampton was late. Long before it came in the people stood three deep behind the barrier down No. 11 platform, their animated voices mingling with the canned music from Waterloo station's loudspeakers. Most of them were young, nearly all of them were colored. They were London West Indians, waiting for friends and relatives.

A thousand West Indians reach London each month, and the train was packed. As the passengers poured out the barriers were pushed out of line, there were handshakes and kisses and laughter and confusion. Trunks, suitcases, haversacks, baskets, musical instruments, were offloaded, dumped anywhere, and frantically searched for. "And they told me," said one of the new arrivals, seeking her hatbox, "this was a disciplined country!"

To the perspiring and the puzzled porters they all looked the same, but gradually they sorted themselves out into two distinct groups. There were the soberly-dressed ones, with neat suitcases, speaking standard English with a Welsh lilt, hailing taxis and giving addresses in Kensington, Kilburn, Earls Court and the better sections of London. These were the students, the visitors, the civil servants—in short, the middle class.

The others were dressed more exotically, big-brimmed hats or startling shirts, their baggage unpredictable, their syntax strange. They were less sure of themselves, some silent and wide-eyed, some noisy and boisterous. If they took taxis they crowded in, five and six and a baby; others headed for the unfamiliar subway. Their destinations were Brixton, Paddington, and the shabbier part of Notting Hill, the scene of London's worst race riots. They were builders' workers, truck-drivers, farmers, dressmakers, jacks and jills of all trades—

GABRIEL GERSH, a contributor to *Phylon, New Leader, Commonweal* and other magazines, authored "Color Bar in Liverpool," which appeared in the November, 1958, *Crisis*.

the working class, which makes up the bulk of the arrivals at the London train stations and airport.

In the past these people would not have come so far afield. West Indians — particularly Jamaicans — have always emigrated because of unemployement and because the islands have never afforded real scope for the ambitious and the adventurous. But they went to Panama, to Cuba, to Venezuela, and in thousands to the United States, where most did well, staying to become citizens or returning home richer. Now these doors are closed to them by immigration restrictions, so they go to England. Fares to England are cheaper now, too.

MOTHER COUNTRY

But that is not the only reason. England has over the years "sold" itself most effectively as the Mother Country, the center of everything. I once heard a workman in a Jamaican bar insisting obscurely that he was a member of an "African tribe." He was greeted with derision, and told he was Jamaican, nothing else but that and British. "You talk English, man, eh? Not African." Furthermore, the obvious high standard of living of local English residents, the knowledge of higher money wages here, the lack of unemployment, the Health Service—all these make England sound a rich country. Which, compartively, it indeed is.

Often whole families come, singly or together. An Indian from Jamaica said about his sister: "She book Monday, leave dere Wednesday, get here Friday." One such family lived a few streets from where I had lived in London—eleven adults, all working, and three small children. They rented all the rooms of a house above a store. Outside it is dingy and depressing, but inside it is neat, nicely furnished, and the family had painted and papered it. One of them, a young married man, had a library of records and he rather proudly pointed out two shelves of books. No TV. West Indians perfer to entertain themselves.

He is a Jamaican and works for the railroads as a stoker, who gets the locomotive ready for the fireman. He has had several jobs and left them all for the same reason — colored people can get work, but seldom promotion. And they do not get work as easily as other people. "If there an Irishman and me, the Irishman gets it." The Irish are among the chief competitors for unskilled jobs, and there is considerable friction. West Indians complain that if fights break out the police pick on them, whoever started it.

All West Indians do not live in such comparative comfort as this family. One I knew lived in a house in South London where there were three or more unrelated people to every small room, the paper was peeling from the walls, and the electricity was cut off because the African landlord had failed to pay the bill. Two of the tenants were unemployed, all were becoming bitter, though they often blamed the wrong causes and the wrong people for their troubles.

WHITE NEIGHBORS

Both these houses are in districts with large colored populations. This

is not only due to the difficulty of securing accommodation elsewhere, but because, as an American Negro says of Harlem in a novel by Langston Hughes, "You feel you get protection." One man said to me: "I've always lived in colored neighborhoods. I like to be among my own people."

How do the white people in these districts feel about it? Despite the outbreak of racial violence in some of these districts a few years ago, there seems to be little outward friction nowadays. Leaving out the marginal element whose stronghold is the center of London, the West Indians behave quietly and decently, and the white people keep to themselves. For instance, in Portobello road market on a Saturday, colored shoppers mix numerously but unobtrusively in the crowd, and are addressed as "Sir" and "Ducks" with Cockney impartiality. But there is little social contact. Children of both races play together at school, but do not usually visit each other's homes. And white people resent the tactics of some Negroes who buy up property and squeeze out white tenants so as to let at exorbitant rents to desperate colored ones. And, of course, there are always the pathological whites who see all Negroes as evil incarnate.

Thoughtful West Indians are very conscious of the problems involved. A Jamaican friend, who has never been in England, wrote fearing that an influx of all "the worse elements in Jamaica" would badly damage relations between the two countries. It is hardly as bad as that, but certainly there are some unsavory elements among the new arrivals, as well as many decent people who could not qualify for a job in England or at home.

A neighbor of mine in London, a Jamaican with a dry cleaning business, who is active in a colored social club, said: "Perhaps there should be some control. People with police records should be kept out. However, it is time the white people learn that most of us are law-abiding, loyal subjects, and all we want is the right to live and work and rear our children in a decent way. Are we asking for so much?"

Despite the West Indians search for better conditions and equal treatment in England, they still consider themselves migrants rather than immigrants. Most of them want to go back eventually to the sunshine. I asked one why, and he replied, simply: "There's no place like home." They go abroad to make enough money to have a comfortable old age in their own countries. Just an old British custom, in fact.

THE BISHOP SIGNS UP—*Bishop Joseph Gomez (R) of Cleveland, Ohio, accep his life-membership plaque from Dr. Jesse L. Leach of Flint, Michigan. Dr. Leac is a member of the NAACP national board. Five other bishops of the AM church are NAACP life members: George W. Baber, Isaiah Bonner, Sherma Greene, Eugene Hatcher, and D. Ward Nichols.*

■ How one citizen reacted to a prize fight

Some Pugilistic Musings

By Avery C. Mann

LAST Monday night (June 20, 1960) I watched Floyd Patterson regain the heavyweight championship of the world. I sat in the "cheap" seats and the men and women around me were predominantly white. Enough has already been written about Floyd's skill and courage in his historic victory. Patterson's performance in the ring is past, but what I felt and heard in the stands that night started a trend of thought and that led to a revelation about which I feel very strongly.

Tension was high before the fight and everyone seemed to have an intense personal interest in its outcome. The comments of the crowd, many of them spoken aloud to no one in particular, and certainly not for my benefit, were most significant.

"I hope that big Swede gets his head punched full of holes."

"Floyd's a good Christian family man," a woman behind me confided to her elderly companion. And there was a comment on Johansson's "long engagement."

Just before the bell you could have cut the silence with a knife. In the second round when Johansson's right landed the people around me winced and pleaded with Patterson, "Stay away from him, Floyd." During the third, a leather-lunged Irishman, seated a couple of rows in front, kept standing and shouting: "Bring that title back to America, Floyd. You can do it. The world championship belongs to us." In the fifth, everyone, myself included, was on his feet screaming: "Kill him, Floyd. Murder the bum!" Odd, I thought, this crowd with its excited involvement has not said a word about race or color. Suppose Floyd had been white and Ingemar black, wouldn't the crowd have continued to voice the same feelings? Where would my sympathies lie?

Then it was all over, the flush of victory faded, and when Johansson did not get up, the same people were saying just as sincerely: "Gee, I hope he isn't really hurt."

AVERY C. MANN, a sport's fan, lives in Harlem, New York City.

What is my point? To me the evening was an emotionally-charged revelation of two very important things. I too had triumphed, vicariously; I was very proud of my race. At the same time, I realized as never before how little personal racial antagonism or hatred of Negroes there is in the ordinary white New Yorker. I know these same people might keep me out of a job or a neighborhood tomorrow solely because of my color, yet there was no doubting their sympathetic support of the Christian, American and heroic Patterson. How do you figure this out?

I don't know, but I think it is due more to selfishness, economic fear and just plain, unthinking social conformity than to any deep racial hate. Maybe it was just the rosy glow of triumph, but while I was in that mob leaving the Polo Grounds, I was proud of my color. I walked "tall," more proud than ever before and at the same time I felt more warm good will toward my fellow rooters than I ever did before. I hoped in the future that I would judge less racially and that the whites, one day, would judge Negroes (outside the sports arena) as they seemed to judge Patterson that night—on the basis of character, Americanism, skill and courage, and not on the basis of race.

Well, so much for fight-night. But this trend of thought continued. Could this personal experience, an intensification of race pride combined with a better feeling if not a deeper understanding of the whites, have any wider application to our problems? It seems to me that the problem is pinpointed in a perceptive article in the October, 1959, *Crisis:*

> If the Negro tries to assimilate, to disperse as widely as possible throughout the white community and even 'cross over' where possible, he loses his identity. The strength that comes from unity, solidarity, and self-respecting race acceptance vanishes. But when they solidify and unite, they inevitably — if only temporarily — widen the chasm, accentuate the difference and consequently increase the tension between the white and colored groups.

"It 'taint necessarily so." The dark dilemma between "integration" and increased black solidarity is not an *either-or-proposition.* I am in favor of both and I feel that both can grow togther. Integration does not imply loss of identity or racial self-respect; black solidarity does not mean Negro nationalism nor mystic "Mohammedan" Fascism. I want to work where I can do the job. I want to live where I can pay the rent. I want to take my recreation and to cultivate my friends among others of similar intellect and culture. I want full acceptance as a human being, a Christian, and an American citizen of African ancestry. This is what I mean by *integration*—and I don't have it yet!

LIFE MEMBERSHIP GIFT—*The Reverend Carl A. Fuqua (L), executive secretary of the Chicago branch, receives $450 as final payment on an NAACP life membership for the Troy Street Improvement Club of the "Windy City." Club president Noah Thomas makes the presentation. The TSIC, first block organization in Chicago to enroll as an NAACP life member, made its initial payment of $50 in 1959. All members of the club live in the 1300 block of South Troy Street, Chicago.*

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(Annual installments of as little as $50.00 or more, sent to your local branch or NAACP headquarters, can make you a LIFE MEMBER in this vital crusade.)

Looking and Listening . . .

NEGRO CANDIDATES

FOR the first time in the history of the state of Nevada there are six Negro candidates for public office, both state and local, and they are all residents of Las Vegas. This reflects a notable change in racial attitudes in the state when it is recalled that less than half a year ago Negroes were not welcomed in the "plush" hotels, restaurants, and casinos in Nevada, and that they were even segregated in the movie theatres. But today all this has changed and the man largely responsible for the change is Dr. James B. McMillan, former president of the Las Vegas branch of the NAACP.

The six candidates are Dr. Charles West (D), state assembly; David Hoggard (D), state assembly; Dr. James McMillan (D), county commissioner; Rev. Donald Clark (R), state assembly; Rev. Leo Johnson (D), hospital trustee; and Mrs. Helen Lamb Crozier (D), state board of education.

"INTEGRATION" NYC SCHOOLS

NATHAN GLAZER writes on the problems of "integration" in the New York City public schools in the September issue of *Commentary*. Segregation in the New York City public schools is *de facto* and not legal. It results from the segregated housing patterns of New York's minority groups. Says Mr. Glazer:

There are great numbers of Negroes and Puerto Ricans in certain areas — concentrations which partly exist because these groups meet discrimination in their efforts to rent or buy houses in many other sections of the city. For despite a city ordinance forbidding it discrimination in housing is still widespread, and in any case the residential patterns created by it still persist. These concentrations have an equally important cause in the poverty of Negroes and Puerto Ricans, a fact which automatically eliminates the great majority of them from large sections of the city. . . .

There was no claim by Northern political bodies that they had any moral or political right to enforce such a separation. The situation was similar to the concentration of Jews in the schools of the Lower East Side in 1910, or of Italians in the schools of 'Little Italy' around the same time. I emphasize this difference between the Northern and Southern states because I think the application of the term 'segregation' to both introduces a radical confusion. In a word, the difference is: Southern segregation has to be abolished *independently* of its impact on education; Northern school concentration becomes a problem that demands action primarily *because* it may lead to inferior education for Negro children. . . .

After discussing the report on "integration" in the city schools made by the Public Education Association at the request of the Board of Educa-

tion of New York City, Mr. Glazer adds:

And despite laws against residential and occupational discrimination, which should serve to upgrade the economic level of Puerto Ricans and Negroes, and spread them more evenly through the city, the situation cannot undergo any great change. For—and this is the most striking and important fact in the report on the progress of integration—*three-quarters* of the school children of Manhattan are Negro and Puerto Rican; *two-fifths* of the school children of greater New York are Negro and Puerto Rican. If by an elaborate process of busing and pupil assignment it were possible to evenly distribute the Negro and Puerto Rican children throughout the city—taking the children of Brooklyn into Queens, the children from Manhattan into the Bronx, and then alternatively bringing the children of the Bronx and Queens into Brooklyn and Manhattan, etc., etc.—then Negro and Puerto Rican children would make up two-fifths of the total in every school in the city.

Mr. Glazer concludes:

Of course, if one takes a long-range view one can think of possible solutions Eventually the impact of a fairly good school system, non-discriminatory renting, the movement of Negroes and Puerto Ricans into better jobs, will reduce the gap between Negro and Puerto Rican students and 'other' students. In the meantime, the Board of Education, with the tacit consent of the people of the city, pours in heavy resources to make up for the disasters of history, trusting that in some way the injection of money and personnel at this end will overcome generations of misfortune. Even so, it is not likely to get much sympathy for its efforts from the victims of the misfortunes. But since when have victims been kind to anyone—to their persecutors, to those who tried to aid them, or to themselves?

CRUSADER—DR. L. K. JACKSON

DR. L. K. JACKSON of Gary, Indiana, is not only a champion of civil-rights, but he is also a great champion of human rights. This dynamic pastor of The St. Paul Baptist Church, Gary, a Republican, has frequently written open letters to leading Republicans, including President Eisenhower, asking about the "haunting, searching and challenging issues which affect not only the Party, but the Negro race, the State and the nation." He calls on the Republicans to fulfill their mission in tune with the times and not to follow Senator Barry Goldwater and those Republicans "who hypocritically wear the badge of Abraham Lincoln, march under the banner of the abolitionists, but form coalition with the dixiecrats, and do the biddings of Jefferson Davis."

Dr. Jackson has raised funds for bail bonds for "sit-in students" and has been active in the raising of relief for the victims of the Chile earthquake. Dr. Jackson is a staunch NAACP supporter and a paid-up NAACP life member as is the Women's Auxiliary of the General Missionary Baptist State Convention of Indiana, Inc. He is a worthy fighter in the liberation war of humanity.

ARMY BIAS

INTEGRATION has not wiped out segregation nor the jim-crow spirit in the American Army, especially among the occupation forces in Germany. A *Crisis* subscriber, a Negro soldier, writes:

I speak of Germany as one who has had a chance to observe the land right

after the War and now [he has lived in Germany since 1945]. Segregation is rampant and outright as articles in these copies of *The Overseas Weekly* will attest. These are not just cases but illustrations of the conditions that exist all over Germany for the Negro soldier or the Negro civilian. And American Army officers make these conditions possible.

I speak German fluently and the German police departments in many German cities say that as long as the American Military feel as they do toward Negro soldiers and their dependents it is only natural that the German people will also regard them as undesirable.

The incident which prompted the above letter took place in Mainz, Germany, this past May and is known as the "Pigalle Bar incident." Local papers in Frankfurt am Main headlined the fracas: "LITTLE ROCK IN GERMANY." Here is the way *The Overseas Weekly* (May 22, 1960) describes the incident:

Mainz — An attack on two African students in a bar here has triggered a stormy protest against U.S. military personnel.

The African Students Union of Rhineland-Palatinate and Hesse charged last week that the assault, in which two officials of the student group were beaten by white GIs, is only the latest in a series of discriminatory racial incidents.

In a letter demanding a personal meeting with Maj. Gen. Ralph R. Mace, Nacom CG, the students threatened violent reprisals if prompt action was not taken to curb violations by "uneducated and misdirected" Americans.

Copies of the stinging letter were filed with the U.S. Embassy at Bonn; Usareur Hq in Heidelberg, all German government offices involved, and the embassies of the eight nations represented by the members of the union, headquartered at Mainz University.

The letter charges that "American civilians abroad seem more and more to be dragging with them their home tactics" and suggests that it is time to attempt "to save the fading face of America with her so-called democratic tenets."

The incident which whipped up the wave of resentment took place in the Pigalle Bar, reportedly owned and operated by five naturalized Americans who have returned to Germany.

The incident occurred when Martin S. Karpeh, 39, of Liberia, president of the African student group; Owen J. Obaseki, 29, of Nigeria, the group's secretary general, and Dr. Schuler H. A. Goliah, 29, of Trinidad, a contract doctor with the 504th Gen Disp, Kaiserslautern, visited the bar.

As they seated themselves, a man later identified as Sol Bines, who reportedly has a small interest in the bar told them they could not be served because the white GI patrons did not like it.

When they protested, the manager, Josef Fleischer, who with his two brothers, claims a controlling interest in the place, said they would be served. He ordered his younger brother to give them their drinks.

Before they had taken the first sip, a beer glass or bottle crashed against the wall above their heads, and white American in civilian dress charged Obaseki.

Bedlam broke out among the some 50 persons who crowded the bar, about 20 of them in U.S. military uniforms. . . .

When officials of the African students' union visited Major General Ralph R. Mace, the NACOM CG, to protest against their treatment at the hands of U. S. military personnel, he told them that although there was no official segregation in the Armed Forces "it seemed foolish" for anyone to visit a place where he would not be welcome. "I think,"

the general said, and afterwards repeated, "that if a colored soldier knows that a place is frequented by white soldiers, and he will probably get into trouble if he enters, he should avoid the place. The same would hold for white soldiers with regard to places frequented by colored soldiers." And an Army prosecutor at a court-martial in Munich told a military jury in May that a colored GI "had no business" in German bars frequented by white soldiers.

Another racial incident is reported from Frankfurt:

Frankfurt—A Negro Wac and soldier were beaten and a white GI stabbed during a heated racial fight.

The incident, according to witnesses, was sparked when the Negro medic and his Wac girl friend tried to order a pizza at a bar near the 97th Gen Hosp.

The establishment, it was learned, is patronized exclusively by white personnel.

Witnesses reported that the Wac, Pfc Vickie Morrie, intervened when the white GIs began to beat up her colored boy friend. She then allegedly was jumped by three or four soldiers.

The Wac, it was reported, stabbed one of the white soldiers in self-defense.

The wounded soldier is being treated at the 97th Gen Hosp where his condition is listed as critical, unofficial sources said.

According to witnesses, a waitress at the Riviera Bar, where the incident took place, refused to serve the two Negroes because white soldiers in the GI hangout had expressed their disapproval.

Then, Pfc Morrie's escort, Pfc Carl Robinson, stepped up to the bar and again asked to be served. Suddenly, witnesses said, he was jumped and attacked.

The wife of one of the bar owners, who refused to indentify herself by name, at first claimed no incident had taken place, later admitted making a statement to police. She declined to comment further.

Witnesses in the neighborhood said seven MP jeeps and one German patrol car arrived at the scene to quell the disturbance. The MPs remained at the bar until late in the night.

Several soldiers in Frankfurt said they were shocked over the incident and had written the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People.

Nacom authorities declined to comment on the incident, refusing to confirm or deny any of the details except to say that it was under investigation.

NEGRO PRIESTS

TWELVE American Negroes have been ordained Catholic priests in 1960, the largest total for any one year, bringing the number of Negro priests in the United States to 106.

The figures were released by the Society of Divine Word Missioners here after a questionnaire survey of the 205 Catholic major seminaries, monasteries, and houses of study in the United States.

The report said the previous high for Negro ordinations had been 10 in 1958.

The 12 priests bring the U. S. total over 100 for the first time. The new priests include four converts; eleven are members of religious communities; one is a diocesan priest.

The survey indicated the number of Negro priests will increase significantly in the next few years. Fifty Negro seminarians now are studying philosophy and theology and will be candidates for ordination up to 1966.

The survey showed that 31 of the Negro priests are members of dioce-

san clergy and 75 are members of 17 religious communities.

The poll listed the following in religious communities: Society of the Divine Word, 33; Benedictines, 14; Holy Ghost Fathers, 5; Josephite missionaries, 5; Order of Friars Minor Conventual, 3; Edmundites, 2; White Fathers, 2; Blessed Sacrament Fathers, 2; one each for the Claretians, Sacred Heart Fathers, Redemptorists, Maryknollers, Salvatorians, Crosiers, Passionists, Precious Blood and Atonement communities.

NEW COMMISSIONER

THE Richmond, Virginia, City Council has appointed B. A. ("Sonny") Cephas, Jr., to be one of four citizen representatives on the City Planning Commission which met on August 8. Mr. Cephas will complete an unexpired term of a white commissioner who resigned when he moved from the city.

The Planning Commission is the most important agency of Richmond. Generally, it has to perfect plans for making the City a good place to live today and a better place to live in the future. Specifically, it deals with such civic matters as preparing and keeping up-to-date a master plan for the physical development of the city and the political jurisdictions five miles beyond its boundary; preparing a five-year program of capital improvement; passes on all subdivisions of land; making recommendations to Council on all subjects coming within its jurisdiction; handling the administrative work of the Board of Zoning Appeals.

Mr. Cephas has been a resident of Richmond for more than fifty years.

THE NAACP 1960 FREEDOM FUND DINNER

GRAND BALLROOM – STATLER-HILTON HOTEL

NEW YORK CITY

Sunday, November 27, 1960

Don't miss the 1960 NAACP Freedom Fund Dinner sponsored by the Board of Directors and Officers of the Association and by a General Dinner Committee of active supporters.

Purpose of the dinner is to stimulate interest and participation in the NAACP Life Membership Drive and to encourage continued financial support of the Association.

Cecil Layne

REMEMBERING THE HOME FOLKS — *Mrs. Ruby Davis (R), financial secretary of the Brooklyn, N. Y., Georgetonians, examines names of some of the NAACP's more famous life members. The Georgetonians purchased their NAACP life membership in August. Pictured with Mrs. Davis is Mildred Bond, NAACP life membership secretary.*

Editorials

AFRICAN COLLEGE STUDENTS

THE Crisis and the NAACP salute the 256 African students who arrvied in the USA in September to begin their schooling at various American colleges and universities. Their transportation, by airlift, was paid for by the Joseph P. Kennedy, Jr., Foundation, a family philanthropy named for Senator John F. Kennedy's elder brother who was killed in World War II.

The Africa-American Students Foundation, Inc., which sponsored the student movement, says the Africans will be distributed among about 22 colleges and universities throughout the country.

These students will have a double problem: they must adjust to Western culture while they are trying to puzzle out the vagaries of American racial prejudice. Significantly, both Mr. Nkrumah and Mr. Azikiwe, who were educated here, became race conscious and nationalistic after their experiences with American *Kultur*. The whole attitude of the USA toward Negroes will have to change if we are going to invite African students in increasing numbers and continue to court the friendship of the newly independent African nations.

SOME CONGO HISTORY

THE happenings in the Congo are of interest to American Negroes. For the problems of the Congolese must be thought of and settled with continual reference to the problems of the African Negroes, the problems of West Indian Negroes, the problems of West Indian migrants in England, and, because we are not a self-contained group, the problems of American Negroes. Irrespective of what is now happening in Léopoldville or Elisabethville, or the personal fights between Messrs. Lumumba and Tshombe, the Congolese have a right to independence and the sympathetic cooperation of the Free World. The problems of the Congo, however, can never be understood or solved without knowledge of Congo history.

Here are some basic facts which must be kept in mind.

FIRST Europeans in this part of Africa were the Portuguese. When they entered the area in the sixteenth century, they found the declining empire of the Congo, which dated from the fourteenth century. The Portuguese were in turn followed by Arab ivory and slave hunters. Belgium, or rather Leopold II, King of the Belgians, got in as a result of the trails blazed by Livingstone and Stanley. Leopold II was an active participant in the two Brussels Conferences (1876; 1889-90) on exploring and civilizing Central Africa and suppressing the slave trade. But when diamonds were discovered in South Africa, Leopold's interests switched from "exploration and civilization" to "commercial enterprises."

The Congo Free State was organized (1885-1910) and recognized by the Berlin Conference of 1884-85. It was Leopold's personal property until the Leopoldian atrocities (which are still green in the Congo) shocked and horrified the world. In 1910 the Free State was annexed by Belgium and renamed the "Belgian Congo."

What sort of colonial policy did Belgium pursue in the Congo?

BELGIUM colonial policy was one of exploitation. The Belgians made no pretense of preparing the Congolese for ultimate self-government. They gave them such smattering knowledge as would make them useful as clerks, automobile mechanics, printers, plumbers, electricians, and brick layers. They devoted attention to the establishing of health programs, hospitals, and housing (although the majority of natives were confined to the *villes indigènes*). They emphasized "spiritual guidance" and "civic discipline" in education, but they did not extend this education beyond the elementary level. And they did not establish the *Centre Universitaire Lovanium* (a sort of post-secondary school) until 1954. The result of this policy is that there was no Congolese *élite*—lawyers, doctors, professors, senior civil servants—such as was found in the British and French colonies.

And poltics? No one was allowed to vote, not even resident Belgians. When both Congolese and resident Belgians were allowed to vote for the first time in 1956, the Government called it "counseling" rather than an "election." Even this "counseling" was permitted in only three cities: Léopoldville, Jadotville, and Elisabethville. Hence there was no politically articulate Congolese *élite* when independence came in June.

ECONOMICALLY, exploitation of the Congo was highly profitable. It was so profitable that it became the basis of the post-war Belgian economy and permitted the Belgians to have one of the highest living standards in Europe. Five giant corporations controlled and operated ninety per cent of the Congo's capital investment. These companies controlled the copper, cobalt, uranium, tin, zinc, and manganese from the Congo. While they made huge profits, the Congolese continued to receive low wages. Actually, the secessionist drama in Katanga is produced by Belgian desire to hang onto the province, which is the richest in the Congo. When the Belgians became aware, in 1958, that there might be trouble in the Congo, local Europeans organized the *Union Katangaise* and began work for a federal constitution which would give Katanga virtual autonomy. The three key men behind Tshombe are General Geysens, who commands Belgian troops in Katanga; Maior Crevecoeur, commander of the Katanga army; and Colonel Weber, so-called "Military Attache to the Katanga Prime Minister."

It will take sad, long years of effort for the Congolese to lift themselves over the obstacles to independence constructed by the Belgians. For the Congolese are men who have been pauperized, disfranchised and insulted by the people who annexed them.

Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront

CASES SET FOR FALL SUPREME COURT

BRIEFS for two significant civil-rights cases were filed before the United States Supreme Court on August 23 by NAACP lawyers, with arguments scheduled to be heard this fall. The announcement was made by the NAACP's general counsel, Robert L. Carter.

One case involves an Arkansas law requiring public school teachers to list all their organizational affiliations. A lower court had upheld the validity of the statute.

In response to an appeal filed on November 23, 1959, by NAACP attorneys on behalf of B. T. Shelton, a school teacher, and the Arkansas Teachers Association, the high court agreed last January 25 to review the case.

Mr. Shelton and the Teachers Association contend that the Arkansas law was designed to cripple the NAACP and is in violation of the equal protection and due process clauses of the 14th Amendment to the Constitution.

Despite his 25-year service, Mr. Shelton, a longtime NAACP member, was dismissed May 5, 1959, because he refused to sign the affidavit requiring him to list all organizations to which he belonged or contributed for the last five years.

In the other case the Supreme Court will hear arguments as to the authority of the federal judiciary to invalidate an Alabama law which in effect disfranchised practically all the Negro voters in Tuskegee. An Arkansas district court opinion stated that the federal judiciary had no such authority.

JOB BIAS COMPLAINT

THE president of the Newport News, Virginia, branch, who is employed as a shipyard crane rigger, has filed charges of racial discrimination and unfair labor practices against his employers.

The Rev. Cornelius Fauntleroy, a veteran of 23 years with the Newport News Shipbuilding and Drydock Company filed two formal complaints, one with the National Labor Relations Board and the other with the President's Committe on Government Contracts. The latter is a watchdog agency, headed by vice-president Richard M. Nixon, to ferret out discriminatory practices in hiring by companies engaged in government contract work.

In his complaint filed with the NLRB, the Rev. Fauntleroy, who in addition to his shipyard employment pastors two county churches, charged that he was discriminated against by the changing of his job location which resulted in his losing overtime pay. He declared the job shift was ordered because of his "vigorous activities" with the Peninsula Shipbuilders Association. He stated that as a PSA delegate he represented Negroes employed in his department.

In the complaint filed with the President's Committee on Government Contracts, the Rev. Fauntleroy made charges of racial discrimination against Negroes generally and against himself individually.

A committee spokesman declined, according to Newport News sources, to specify the charges on the ground that it would involve naming specific departments and individuals.

MISSISSIPPI POLICE BEAT YOUTH

JOHNNY FRAZIER, teenage leader of the Mississippi NAACP youth council, was beaten by police in Winona, Mississippi, and then arrested for refusing to move to the rear of an interstate bus.

Although beaten into a state of semi-consciousness, young Johnny Frazier, who is the NAACP state youth president, was convicted of disturbing the peace. A high school senior, Frazier was returning to his home in Greenville from Waynesboro, Ga., where he had attended an NAACP Youth Retreat at Boggs Academy.

Arrangements were made to pay his fine by the Mississippi State Conference of branches, which issued a statement declaring:

"Only in Nazi Germany has such inhuman cruelty been equaled."

Condemning the police action as "extreme brutality," the Conference asserted, "the sheriff and deputy of Montgomery county violated their oaths of office and Frazier's constitutional rights."

ASSOCIATION AIDS LOUISIANA CHILDREN

THE NAACP has contributed $200 to the fund being raised to aid the 23,000 children, mostly Negro, who have been stricken from the relief rolls in Louisiana. The fund is being raised by the Urban League of Greater New Orleans.

In a letter addressed to J. Harvey Kerns, executive director of the New Orleans League, Mr. Wilkins enclosed the check for "the children cruelly deprived of needed assistance by action of the Governor and the Legislature of the State of Louisiana.

"This incredibly inhumane and hate-inspired act has brought shame not only upon New Orleans and Louisiana but also upon the nation," and has aroused "the conscience of the world," the NAACP leader said.

The children, Mr. Wilkins pointed out, "are being penalized not for anything they have done; they are being punished because Negro citizens over the country are now challenging discrimination, segregation and second-class citizenship imposed upon them by state authority."

He congratulated Mr. Kerns "upon efforts of the New Orleans Urban League to rescue these unfortunate children" and expressed hope for "every success in this endeavor."

FIELD SECRETARY ARRESTED

ASSISTANT NAACP field secretary for youth, Amos Brown, was arrested on September 7 at Savannah Beach, Georgia, following a "wade-in" at a public beach. When he was arrested, officials told him that his "civil-rights" were not being violated but that he was being charged with "speeding" in a school zone.

Mr. Brown said he led three other NAACP youths into the water and swam with them for more than an hour before police ordered everyone out of the water and closed the beach.

When white patrons proceeded to another nearby beach area, still open, Brown and his party followed in a car. Police, trailing the car, finally halted it and arrested Brown alone, releasing the other youths.

In a report of the incident to Herbert Wright, NAACP youth secretary, Brown said the arresting officer told him: "You are looking for trouble, but we are not going to violate your civil rights." He was released under $51 bond and was scheduled for trial on September 12.

The "wade-in" was the second staged by Savannah, Georgia, NAACP youths. Several weeks ago eleven were arrested following a "wade-in" at the same beach area and charged with disorderly conduct and disrobing in public.

Southern units of the NAACP have been urged "to take the leadership" in encouraging Negroes to seek service at all municipal and state beach and park facilities maintained by taxes.

MRS. MARGURITE BELAFONTE JOINS NAACP STAFF

MRS. MARGURITE BELAFONTE joined the NAACP staff on September 1 as director of NAACP special projects.

Mrs. Belafonte will continue as co-chairman with Jackie Robinson of the 1960 Freedom Fund drive, an honorary non-salaried position she has held very actively for three successive years. As NAACP Fredom Fund co-chairman last year Mrs. Belafonte traveled to 63 cities in 38 states within a five-month period. This year she has already visited NAACP branches in 47 cities.

Upon assuming her new position as a full-time NAACP national staff member, Mrs. Belafonte announced that she will "work with branches that heretofore have found it difficult to meet their Freedom Fund quotas."

Emphasis, she said, will be upon aiding these branches plan and arrange on a professional scale such fund raising events as fashion shows, teas, dances, banquets, and luncheons.

Mrs. Belafonte has been women's editor of the N.Y. *Amsterdam News*, and has had her own daily broadcast over New York Radio Station WOV, where she presented women's features. She has also made countless radio and television appearances to represent the NAACP in communities throughout the nation. She has appeared as guest artist in fashion shows staged for benefit of the NAACP in many cities from coast to coast.

Mrs. Belafonte is a graduate of Hampton (Va.) Institute, where she studied psychology. She continued her studies at New York University, the University of Paris, and the University of Heidelberg.

Following her European training Mrs. Belafonte became an educational director in early childhood training for the City of New York.

Mrs. Belafonte resides in New York City with her two daughters, Adrienne, 10, and Shari, 5.

BUY NAACP HOLIDAY SEALS

JOIN THE 1960 NAACP HOLIDAY SEAL CAMPAIGN TO RAISE $150,000 for the general work of the Association through sale of NAACP Holiday Seals. Buy them in blocks (there are 100 seals to a sheet) of $2, $5, $10, $25 and up, as well as smaller quantities of 25¢, 50¢ and a $11.

WRITE BOBBIE BRANCHE, Director of Seal Campaign, 20 West 40th Street, New York 18, New York, or get in touch with your local branch.

J. E. Bailey

NAFAD SUPPORTS NAACP — *This is not an alphabet picture. Rather, it's the report on purchase of an NAACP life membership by the National Association of Fashion Accessory and Design, Inc. Presentation of $500 check was made by Mrs. Lois K. Alexander (R), president, to Mrs. Margurite Belafonte, director of special projects of the NAACP.*

What the Branches Are Doing

Connecticut: The GREENWICH branch gave a freedom-fund reception on Friday, May 20, for "freedom's cause" and as "a salute to a few of the Greenwich members for exceptional contributions in the community for better racial unity." The reception was held at the Village Inn in Port Chester, New York.

Rev. Robert D. Sherard, president of the East Elmhurst branch, Corona, Long Island, was the guest speaker. James Johnstone of New Rochelle was master of ceremonies, Mrs. Lulu Mae Harrison gave a selection, and Dr. Joyce Y. Carwin gave the history of the Association and the branch.

The honoresses, each of whom was given a gold-inscribed dish, are as follows:

Dr. Joyce Y. Carwin, who was first branch president and a charter member; Edna Harris, youth work; Mrs. Grace Welch, community work; Mrs. Geneva Thompson, missionary work; Mrs. Mennittee Nelson, civic and church work; and Mrs. Alfred Baker Lewis, active in civic and community work.

Citations were presented to Mrs. Gertrude Steadwell and Mrs. Bernice Napper.

Hostesses for the dinner were Mrs. Mabel Warren, Mrs. Lenora Perry, Mrs. Mabel Blakely, Mrs. Helen Carter, Mrs. Christine Branch, and Jeanette Robertson.

Greenwich branch officers are Mrs. Lillian S. Morse, president; Harold Perdue, vice-president; Mrs. Gertrude Steadwell, second vice-president; Albert Bigelow, third vice-president; Mrs. Elaine Smith, recording secretary; William Blakely, financial secretary; Edna Harris, corresponding secretary; and William Carter, treasurer.

Hawaii: The HONOLULU branch of the NAACP, after charter presentation exercises at the Church of the Crossroads, installed officers on July 19, with Mrs. Tarea Pittman and Joseph Kennedy acting as guest speakers.

Branch officers are Willie Moore, president; Frank Peterson, vice-president; Rex Moser, secretary; Thelma Davis, assistant secretary; and Reuben Creel, treasurer.

Minnesota: Field secretary Leonard H. Carter, Region IV, reports slight increase in membership in his region. He also reports the following branches as having reached their 1960 fredom-fund quotas: Colorado, Pueblo; Iowa,

Burlington, Cedar Rapids, and Des Moines; Kansas, Wellington; and Nebraska, Lincoln.

New York: Mrs. Natalie Stewart gave $40 to the WILLIAMSBRIDGE branch in July in memoriam of her mother, Mrs. Scott. The forty dollars included checks presented to Mrs. Stewart and her brother, Theodore Scott, by Eulalia Mayo of Jersey City and Mrs. Mary Johnson of East 220th Street the Bronx.

The NEW YORK STATE CONFERENCE of NAACP branches met on August 6 in Hotel Fifth Avenue, New York City. Representatives from

---

JONAH JOINS THROUGH JACKIE—*Famed trumpet man and singer Jonah Jones (R) took out an unsolicited NAACP life membership through Jackie Robinson, co-chairman of the Association's life membership committee. His manager, Sam Berk (L) also contributed. Mr. Jones is among an expanding list of "top drawer" celebrities supporting the civil-rights struggle through NAACP life memberships.*

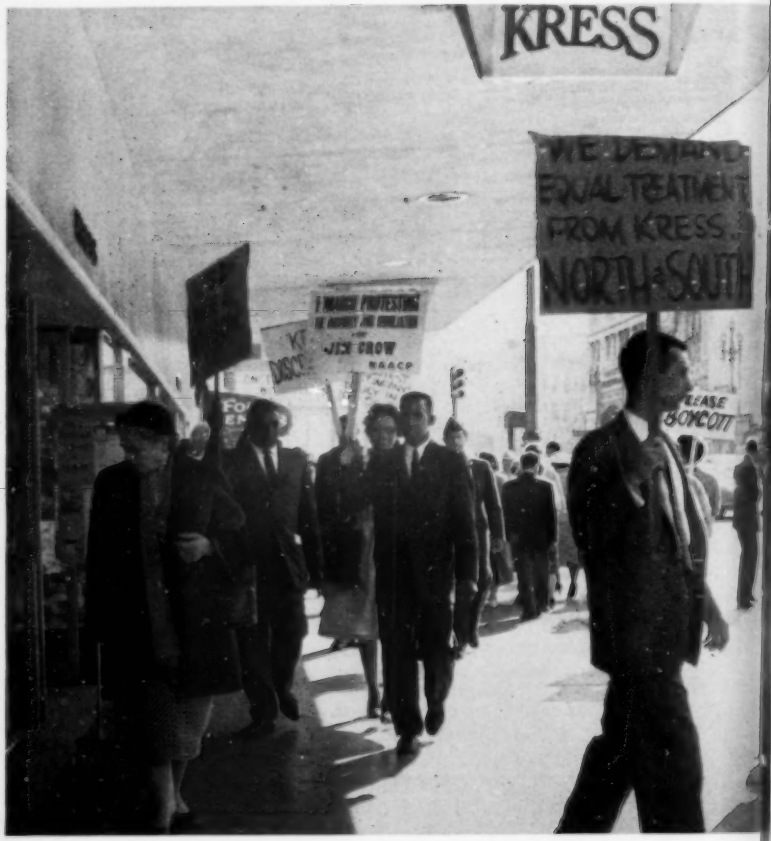
Kas Heppner

CHAMPION JOINS ORGANIZATION—*Floyd Patterson (L), heavyweight champion of the world, presents NAACP life membership check to his long-time friend Father Archibald V. McLees, member of the executive committee Brooklyn, N. Y., branch. Looking on at right is R. Risley Dent, president of the Brooklyn branch.*

---

branches, youth councils, and college chapters throughout the state were present.

North Carolina: A group of sixteen Raleigh Negroes, led by Ralph Campbell, tried to use the city-owned Pullen Park, which is reserved for whites only although the park was willed to the city by the late Mr. Pullen for the use of all Raleigh citizens. The Negroes were barred from swimming and told to "go to the other side of town." When Mr. Campbell asked if this denial was based on race, the swimming pool manager said "Yes." This attempted use of Pullen Park was in protest against the deplorable conditions at Raleigh's Chavis Park for Negroes: split diving board, dirty water, etc.



VARIETY STORE PICKETS—*Thomas Gaither (right, background) president of the Claflin, South Carolina, college chapter of the NAACP, walks a picket line with president Terry Francois of San Francisco (in San Francisco) after a recent lecture tour.*

A committee from the RALEIGH branch later called on the local mayor in an effort to clear up the situation. At the mayor's request, Attorney Samuel Mitchell, John Williams, Jr., president of the branch, Mills Holloway, Chas. G. Irving, Sr., and Ralph Campbell met with the mayor on August 15.

Ralph Campbell, Sr., branch membership chairman, has been named the new branch executive secretary.

Ohio: Saundra Pearl Sharp was crowned CLEVELAND branch queen for 1960 in a gala celebration at Beckman Hall on June 19. The crowning of Miss Sharp, who was first in a field of six contestants, was the highlight of the Annual Junior Women's Auxiliary Tea.

Pennsylvania: Attorney James K. Baker, executive secretary of the PHILADELPHIA branch, has found, after going through the voluminous testimony taken by the Philadelphia Commission on Human Relations in regard to hotel discrimination against Negroes, that the Pennsylvania State Employment Service was an active participant in hotel and restaurant discrimination against Negroes. What the PSES did was to refuse to refer Negro applicants for waiters' jobs to restaurants or hotels which they knew would not take Negroes. As a result of this discovery, the Philadelphia branch sent a strong letter of protest to William L. Batt, Jr., secretary of labor and industry for the commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

The PENNSYLVANIA STATE CONFERENCE, at its regular meeting held in Hershey, has approved a research project of Pennsylvania civil-rights laws. Aim of the project is to compile and analyze all of the statutes, ordinances, cases, and administrations of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. The State Board agreed that this research is needed and it is to be under the direction of Eric W. Springer of the faculty of the graduate school of health and the school of law of the University of Pennsylvania.

South Carolina: The SPARTANBURG branch and its youth council as well as the Palmetto Voters Association cooperated in a door-to-door campaign to get Spartanburg Negroes to register and then to vote. The two-week campaign to all city precincts and some 1,792 local families, of whom 770 enlisted persons are pledged to become registered voters.

Workshops were also held in major rural areas in the county emphasing community responsibility in voting, the voting laws of South Carolina, and voting procedures.

The Voter Registration Committee in South Carolina is employed by the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., under the supervision of Frank Robinson, Sumter, adult supervisor; and Catherine Peppers, South Carolina State College; Thomas Gaither, a 1960 Claflin graduate; and Rev. Moses Javis, Benedict; all student workers and supervisors. Others assisting in the work included Annette Shumate, youth council president; Mary Hackett, Shirley Wofford, Mr. and Mrs. Lucious High, and Richard Fryer.

College and School News

Sit-in demonstrations in the South and other expressions of concern for racial equality have given the American college student a "cause for the first time since World War II, according to University of Michigan dean of women Deborah Bacon. The 1960 undergraduate is neither lost, silent, nor apathetic, she declares in her annual report to University of Michigan president Harlan Hatcher.

▪

A special committee of governmental experts, representing forty-one countries, completed in June a draft convention and a draft of recommendations regarding the fight against discrimination in education. The meeting was convened by UNESCO.

▪

Lester B. Granger, executive secretary of the National Urban League, spoke at the eleventh annual VALPARAISO UNIVERSITY institute on human, on July 30, on the topic "The Church Member Senses Community Responsibility."

▪

Fourteen churchmen have recently completed a special course in research and survey, taught by Dr. Roy A. Sturm, as part of the 41st rural and urban summer school held at the INTERDENOMINATIONAL THEOLOGICAL CENTER, Atlanta, Georgia.

▪

BENEDICT COLLEGE has opened two new buildings for occupancy. One is a modern fire-resistant residence hall for approximately 110 upperclassman; the second, a residence hall for 32 male students of the J. J. Starks School of Theology.

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■

Bernard H. Williams of MEHARRY MEDICAL COLLEGE's 1954 class in medical technology, employed by the Veterans' Administration Hospital, Birmingham, Alabama, as a physical science technician, has been promoted to biochemist in the radioisotope and medical services research division.

■

When Donald Ray Henderson received his certificate from the carpentry department of WEST KENTUCKY VOCATIONAL SCHOOL on July 29, he became the first white student to graduate from this school.

■

The 1960 outstanding dentist award has been given to Dr. Clifton O. Dummett, Tuskegee, Alabama, editor of the official publication of the NATIONAL DENTAL ASSOCIATION, INC.

■

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY's Oral History Research Office has embarked on two major biographical projects —one on aviation; the other on Negro leaders.

In discussing the Negro project, Dr. Louis M. Starr, director of OHRO, said that for years scholars have had "pathetically little autobiographical literature" about Negro leaders. The OHRO is helping to rectify this, he said, by obtaining interviews from Negroes who have left their mark in a wide variety of fields.

President William R. Strassner of SHAW UNIVERSITY has announced the following appointments to faculty and staff: J. V. Anderson, business manager; Dr. John L. Tilley, director of public relations and alumni affairs; Mrs. Virginia K. Newell, assistant professor of mathematics; Mrs. Vivian M. Sansom, assistant professor of physical education; Mrs. Louise Lewis, registrar's assistant; James Kofa, instructor in the department of business; and Mrs. Dora Anderson, secretary to the dean of the college.

■

Exploratory studies on a scholarship program for Africans at the thirty-three member college of the UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND will be made in Africa this fall by W. J. Trent, Jr., executive director, and Calvin H. Raullerson, educational director, of UNCF.

A grant for the preliminary investigation has been made by the Rockefeller Foundation. Implementation of the proposed program will be financed through philanthropic sources separate from the annual UNCF campaigns.

■

"Whatever scholarship program may be developed for African students will be apart from the continuing scholarship programs for American students," Mr. Trent said. "Plans to aid in the education of Africans are consistent with the College Fund's philosophy of extending educational opportunity on as wide a scale as possible.

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systems and the availability of qualified students will be made in East and Central Africa. Discussions with Africans have indicated an opportunity for greatest service in Tanganyika, Uganda, Northern Rhodesia, and Nyasaland," Mr. Trent said. "No current U. S. program includes a significant number of persons from these areas.

■

Eleven foreign welfare specialists from eight countries—Brazil, Greece, Turkey, Kenya, Finland, Pakistan, Malaya, and Vietnam—participated in a three-week orientation program at BOSTON UNIVERSITY's school of social work, August 21-September 10.

Deighton W. Douglin, originally of Boston, who spent four years teaching in the Belgian Congo and who hopes to return there in January, received his Ed. M. degree at BU's annual summer commencement on August 20.

■

Forty-five high school students from fourteen states and the District of Columbia participated in the 1960 summer secondary-science-student program in chemistry and mathematics at FISK UNIVERSITY.

■

During the past decade, pensioners, Negroes, and those lacking a high school education have failed to match the income gains of most Detroiters. This finding emerges from a comparison of family incomes in Wayne, Oakland, and Macomb counties developed by the UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN's Detroit area study.

Between 1951 and 1959, the median income of families with a breadwinner in the labor force rose from $4,700 to 6,500, a thirty-eight per cent gain. Among those not in the labor force—including many living on pensions, social security, and other fixed incomes—median income went from $1,900 in 1951 to $2,400 in 1959, a gain of only twenty-six per cent.

■

VIRGINIA UNION UNIVERSITY is expanding its program to include two kinds of evening classes designed to meet the needs of two kinds of prospective students. A regular college course is offered for credit for those who can qualify for admission to the college; and the basic requirement is graduation from high school. Noncredit courses are offered for cultural, civic, or economic advancement of interested adults without regard to previous academic achievement.

■

A total enrollment of 1,852 students in the ATLANTA UNIVERSITY summer school has been announced by Dr. Paul Clifford, director. The student body included 1,302 graduate students, 448 undergraduates, and 102 pupils in the Oglethorpe elementary school which was used by AU for demonstration purposes.

The Honorable Gilbert E. Okeke, minister of education for the Eastern Region of Nigeria, was summer-school convocation speaker on August 4, when the school awarded seventy-seven graduate degrees.

A University of Michigan fellowship in college administration for 1960-61 has been awarded Dr. Broadus E. Sawyer, associate professor of economics and business administration at MORGAN STATE COLLEGE.

■

VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE's library-science department exhibited 600 new junior library books from July 27 to August 3 in the New Johnston Memorial Library. The exhibits covered all grades, kindergarten through twelfth, and a wide variety of subjects.

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Book Reviews

STAR ATHLETE

***Wait Till Next Year*: The Life Story of Jackie Robinson. By Carl T. Rowan with Jackie Robinson. New York: Random House, 1960, 339pp. $4.95.**

Whatever those who vote baseball greats into the Hall of Fame may choose to do about candidate Jackie Roosevelt Robinson, grandfathers in the making will surely take their chairs and tell the young about this Georgia-born, but California-reared, all-around athlete. And it is heartening to report that they will have in *Wait Till Next Year* a fascinatingly factual account of Robinson's life and time. This is so because the distinguished journalist Carl T. Rowan has himself the kind of spirited determination which identifies with the Robinson we know, but it is more so because Robinson was and is a man, and as John Steinbeck once noted, there are not very many in this world.

And fortunately for both Robinson and baseball, it was for a man that Branch Rickey—also a man—was looking when he conceived the idea of breaking the color line in the great American game. Nothing less would do for a pioneer role. For here also was a big business, and such an enterprise as enabled its heroes to shine or fade under the glaring sun day by day from early spring into autumn, and to perform before the public in that dual role (as individual and teammate) which lends baseball its Dionysian drawing appeal as human drama.

Jackie was the last of six children born—on January 31, 1919—to Jerrie and Mallie (née McGriff) Robinson on the Sasser plantation near Cairo, Georgia. Six months later, the father, claiming that he wished to visit a brother in Texas, left his family for Florida and reportedly took with him another man's wife. A year later the proud, "uppity," and honestly courageous 30-year-old mother, her brood of five living children and several other relatives, were in Pasadena. They all moved west in answer to a visiting brother's taunting admonition to "get a little closer to heaven."

There on a paper route, in the Pepper Street gang, at Muir Technical High School and Pasadena Junior College, the young Robinson began to develop into an outstanding athlete and formidable contender. While playing football with the Pasadena eleven, he learned his first basic lesson in human relations: to share the glory—with one of a half dozen Oklahoma boys who joined the team—indeed, to live with others and let others live.

Later at UCLA the athletic competition rose, but so did his star, and the range of his activities extended. When he met there one Rachel Isum, he was

already shy of girls, particularly of society girls. He had played that pre-mating game, "post office," at teen-age parties in Pasadena to discover that the better looking lasses had longer and sweeter messages for the light-skinned boys. Quite early in life, he learned to live with himself. But he won the skirmish with shyness and married Rae on February 10, 1946. Ten years and ten months later, we who gathered at the Hotel Roosevelt in New York City (on December 8, 1956) to hear his remarks as he received the forty-first Spingarn Medal, sensed above all that he was still himself. That speech, as he himself said, represented the high point of his career as a citizen of a democracy. Brief quotes from it are included here. It carried conviction:

> "'I am now quite convinced that [my past conduct] has been right . . . I was so often advised not to press issues, not to speak up every time there was an injustice. I was often advised to look after the Robinson family and not to worry about other people . . . If I did so, many honors and awards would come my way, but [I would not get those awards] if I insisted on continually speaking out for what I thought was right.'"

It is because of this kind of conviction that Robinson the star athlete became a touchstone by which people defined the difference between two approaches to the race problem, or measured the mettle of their friends and their enemies. Many colored people argued heatedly among themselves about his militancy; most whites expressed a distaste for his eager, assertive behavior — secretly both groups, and certainly the genuine men and women, admired him for what they had neither the capacity nor the daring to venture. The timid among us died their thousand deaths when he threw his tantrums, but baseball lived. And it is now fairly safe to say that the Dodgers numbered their days in Brooklyn by the quality of his performance. During the best years—1949, 1950, 1951—of his power and prowess, he ruled all the land around second base, and held—on the hard way out and the harder way he often came in—a kind of option over home plate.

In this book Robinson duly honors Branch Rickey for allowing him the breakthrough opportunity, he rates Charlie Dressen the best of the four managers he played under, and he admits that the "little irritations festering" within him kept him from talking things over with Walter Alston, whose ability as a baseball manager Robinson never really respected. We get a double exposure of Jackie and Shotton in terms of managerial policy from what Jackie says about him: "Shotton's only trouble was that he almost never came out of the dugout. I like a manager who comes out to fight the team's battles the way Dressen did." Robinson's dislike for Walter O'Malley was intestinal: ". . . I was not O'Malley's kind of Negro." The Robinson ratings of people, players, managers and situations are worth the price of *Wait Till Next Year* apart from its value as the portrait of a man and his career.

Much of the credit for sustaining the full flavor of the crucial turning points in Jackie's story must go to Carl T. Rowan, now a staff writer for one of the ten foremost newspapers in the United States, the Minneapolis *Tribune*. Here, the life of an athlete of epic stature, illustrated with photographs which show an instinct for suiting the picture to the story, becomes a Little Leaguer's treasure trove and a full-blooded man's bible. For Robinson is a living tissue fact of human dignity who struck a new image of the American Negro, a symbol who stirred depths in people beneath the hard crust of race consciousness, a man who bore himself as men must if they mean to

bear themselves well. For these reasons grandfathers in the making will surely take their chairs and tell the young about him. His type belongs to legend.

HENRY F. WINSLOW, SR.
Morgan State College
Baltimore, Md.

PROBLEMS OF THE COLOR LINE

***White and Coloured:* The behavior of British people towards coloured immigrants. By Michael Banton. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1960 223pp. $4.00.**

However much one may attempt or wish to ignore the fact of race, one of the most important problems of the present century is the relation of the races of mankind. At the opening of the century, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois stated that *the problem* of the twentieth century was the color line. And only recently the historian Arnold J. Toynbee discussed in the *New York Times* the factors favoring and opposing the possibility of a war of the races of the world. By a war between the races Toynbee was referring, of course, to a war between the white and colored races. Despite the attempts of the physical anthropologists and geneticists to give a scientific basis for the classification of races, the classification of mankind into the white and colored races remains the only one that has any meaning from a sociological or political standpoint.

The division of mankind into white and colored races was the result of the economic expansion of the European peoples which began in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and culminated in the domination of the colored peoples of the world by the white races. During the nineteenth century the economic expansion of Europe and the establishment of the political domination of Europe were associated with the migration of the European peoples which created racial "frontiers" so to speak in various parts of the world. The political domination of Europe was justified on religious and philosophical grounds by an ideology involving the superiority of the white race and European culture. Today we are witnessing a revolt against the political domination and economic exploitation of the colored races by the white races. Moreover, in the case of England, the colored peoples who once were their colonial subjects are beginning to invade England. This book deals with the behavior of the British people towards their former colored colonial subjects.

The first three chapters, which constitute Part I of the book, undertake to explain within the context of the relation of personality to society the difference between racial prejudice and racial discrimination. This is very important not only for the understanding of the behavior of the British people towards colored people but for the understanding of race relations in the United States and other parts of the world. In the United States, despite the many studies of race relations there is still much confusion in regard to the important difference between race prejudice and racial discrimination. This confusion is generally revealed in sanctimonious statements especially on the part of liberal whites who say that "you cannot make people love each other by passing laws." As the author of this book has admirably shown, racial prejudice consists of the attitudes and feelings of individual persons in regard to persons of a different race whereas discrimination refers to the objective differential treatment of persons of a different race. This differential treatment is found in laws and institutions which define the rights and duties of people of different racial origins. In other words, taking the situation in Britain, West Indians are regarded as constituting different social categories.

In the chapter where there is an attempt to explain racial prejudice the author reviews the findings of social psychologists concerning this phenomenon. Although he does not add anything to our knowledge, his discussion provides a good introduction to the main task of the book. What is more important is his emphasis upon the necessity to study the behavior of the British towards colored people within a sociological frame of reference. Therefore, he is at pains to indicate how their behavior is influenced, perhaps better to say determined, by the social organization of Britain. Part II contains three chapters showing the changing conception of the colored man which has resulted from his new relation to British society; the manner in which the colored person in Britain has become, so to speak, the "archetypal stranger"; and how the customary manner of treating colored people no longer deals with social reality.

In Part III, which treats of the interracial society, the author comes to grips with the treatment of colored people in concrete situations. He analyzes first the situation in regard to colored workers on the docks and then he studies the relations of British and colored students at the universities. In the latter situation one may see the inter-play of race and class. The last chapter in this part provides important materials on the colored workers in the industrial cities of Britain, including a brief analysis of the so-called race riots in some areas.

In the last part, which is concerned with the meaning of color, the author undertakes to show what has been demonstrated in this study. He states his conclusions in the form of theses. On the whole, there can be little disagreement with the theses. However, although a review intended for the vast majority of the readers of *The Crisis* is not the place to discuss technical sociological problems, something should be said about certain statements. For example, the author states that "a sociological theory starting from the concept of the person provides more useful results than those based on slippery notions of 'society,' 'culture', 'groups', etc." This seems to contradict what the author states at the beginning about the sociological approach being concerned with social structures. In fact, practically all of his analysis deals with behavior as a part of social structures.

Then, too, the reader will be struck by many basic similarities in the behavior of the British and that of white Americans. There are differences, of course, and these differences can be related to differences in the social organization of Britain and the United States and differences in the traditional cultures of the two countries. Although this may be considered one of the pioneer studies of the relations of white and colored people in Britain, it does not contain sociological discoveries that can not be found in the American studies. One of the valuable contributions of the book is to be found in Appendix II, "British Racial Attitudes." On the other hand, the "Ten Commandments of Inter-Group Relations" in Appendix I are rather folksy, common sense formulas for human relations and like all such commandments are of dubious value.

On the whole this is a worthwhile study which should be read by both laymen and specialists in order to get an understanding of race relations in Britain. And what is more important, it is a valuable addition to the growing body of scientific literature on race and cultural contacts in the modern world.

E. Franklin Frazier
Department of Sociology
and Anthropology
Howard University
Washington, D. C.

"BEWARE JEALOUSY"

***The Brazilian Othello of Machado de Assis:* A Study of Dom Casmurro. By Helen Caldwell. Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1960. 194pp. $3.50.**

This book is an analysis of the enigma of *Dom Casmurro*, a novel generally regarded as Machado's masterpiece.

The story of *Dom Casmurro* is slight, an unfortunate marriage wrecked by the husband's corrosive jealousy; what gives it significance is the way it is told. Bento Santiago ("Dom Casmurro" or "Mr. Grumpy") opens his story with a sketch of his youth and how he came to love and marry his next-door neighbor, Capitú. Two years later they had a son whom they named Ezekiel after Santiago's closest friend, Ezekiel de Souza Escobar. The older the boy gets the more he resembles Escobar. At least that is what Santiago thinks; that is why the jealous suspicion, the continual torment, that it is Escobar's child. Santiago decided to poison himself; then he felt it was Capitú who should die; then it must be the boy; but he lacked the resolve of either suicide or murder. The family broke up and Capitú and her son died abroad a few years later. Although Santiago had some romantic adventures, none of the women could fill the void left by the separation from his wife.

It is the last part of the story, which is filled with psychological self-analysis and Freudian undertones, even though the book was written before Freud's theory of psychoanalysis was available to lay readers, that furnishes the answer to Santiago's pressing question — is Capitú adulterous? If she is not guilty, does the tragedy result from Santiago's psychological urge to think her unfaithful? Machado leaves the verdict to the reader. Although "nearly three generations, of critics at least, have found Capitú guilty," Miss Caldwell is unwilling to accept their verdict.

She pleads the case for Capitú in Chapter 7 where she shows that Santiago emphasizes the minutest incidents whenever they suggest Capitú's infidelity, and that his jealousy arises from something within himself rather than from Capitú's actions. In Dom Casmurro's case the "handkerchief of Desdemona" is "the resemblance, or fancied resemblance, of Ezekiel to Escobar." "Jealousy moreover," explains Proust, "is a dream that cannot be exorcised, but always returns to assume a fresh incarnation." This is Santiago's malady. The drama exists, insists Miss Caldwell, because "it is in the natures, passions, and spiritual condition of Othello-Santiago, Iago-Santiago, and Desdemona-Capitú."

Miss Caldwell's delicate insight and acute analysis make *The Brazilian Othello of Machado de Assis* an eloquent, stimulating, and learned book. But like most books of literary detective work, the author's argument is supported mainly by verbal evidence, which, naturally, is subject to a variety of interpretations.

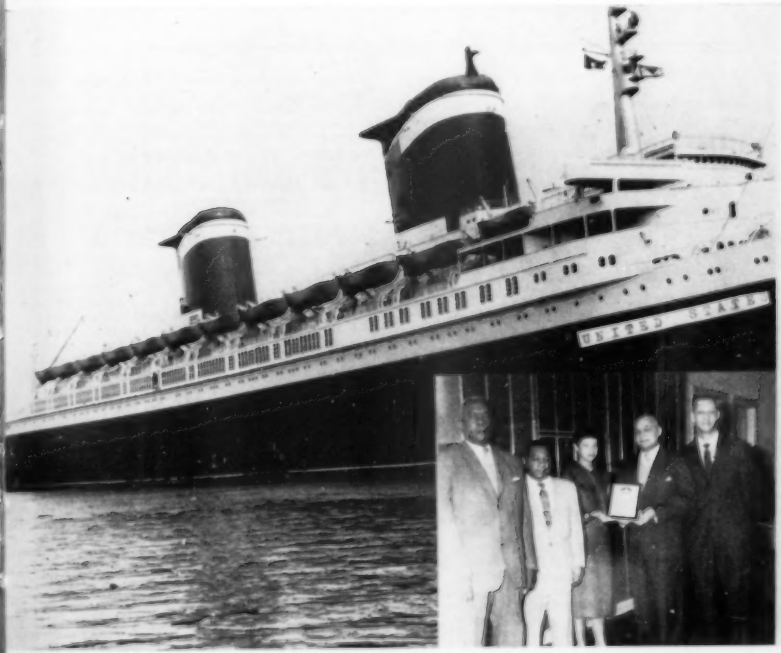
Miss Caldwell, who made an English version of *Dom Casmurro* (Noonday Press, 1953), is not only exceptionally erudite in the writings of Machado but she also seems to have read all the Machadian books, even the scholia and the exegeses. This is quite a feat when one remembers that Joaquim Maria Machado de Assis (1839-1908) was a prolific writer of novels, short stories, chronicles, poems, plays, etc. (J. Galante de Sousa lists 1,227 published items in his *Bibliography of Machado de Assis*, 1955) and that he is the most written-about Brazilian man of letters (Galante de Sousa, for instance, has 1,884 entries in his *Sources for the Study of Machado de Assis*, 1958).

Machado de Assis is a fascinating

and interesting chronicler and psychologist. "This Brazilian of Negro Blood," says Erico Verissimo, "offers an insoluble enigma to psychologists and essayists. His was a most complex and disconcerting personality of all literature. And it is because of this . . . that there have been numerous biographical essays on Machado de Assis, which give rise to passionate controversies . . . and new enigma."

J. W. I.

THE WHOLE CREW JOINED—*S. S. United States crew members took out life memberships in the NAACP this fall Pictured (inset from L) are Frank Church, Heriberto Borrero, NAACP life membership secretary Mildren Bond, John Dudley, and Oswald Bonitto. The crew members are longtime supporters of the NAACP.*



SOME *of the ministers of the Tampa, Florida, Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance who marched for citizenship by getting out the Negro vote.*

STATEMENT REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF AUGUST 24, 1912, AS AMENDED BY THE ACTS OF MARCH 3, 1933, JULY 2, 1946 AND JUNE 11, 1960 (74 STAT. 208) SHOWING THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, AND CIRCULATION OF THE CRISIS. Published monthly October to May inclusive; bi-monthly June-July and Aug.-Sept. at New York, N. Y., for Oct. 1, 1960.

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James W. Ivy, *Editor*

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